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THE ORATION

—OF—

DEMOSTHENES

ON BEHALF OF CTESIPHON,

COMMONLY CALLED

THE ORATION ON THE CROWN.

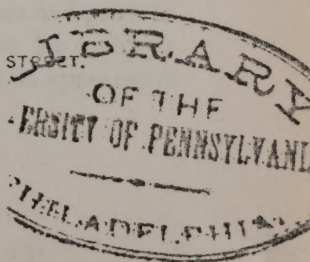
A New Translation.

by George W. Biddle

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ARGUMENT.

After the battle of Chæronea (August B. C. 338) Athens took hastily some measures of defence, which the peace, concluded a few days later, made unnecessary. One of these measures, however, was not abandoned, namely, the repair of the walls of Athens and of Piræus, a considerable work, which involved an expenditure of 100 talents, or about \$120,000 of our money.

This was resolved upon early in the year 337, upon the motion of Demosthenes, and a commission of ten citizens, one drawn from each tribe, was appointed in the summer of the same year to carry the resolution into effect. Demosthenes, representing the tribe Pandion, was on this Commission, and took charge of a section of the work forming about a tenth of the whole.

He added out of his own funds the sum of three talents to the amount drawn from the public treasury for this service, and moreover contributed liberally from his private resources to the Theoric Fund for the maintenance of public spectacles, of which he was administrator.

The work was completed and the Commission executed in the year following, 336. Ctesiphon, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, and a friend of Demosthenes, then introduced a decree that a crown of gold should be publicly bestowed upon him in the theatre, at the celebration of the great Dionysiac festivals, the usual reward of public services and functions honorably performed. It was in the form of similar decrees and provided that proclamation should be made by the herald that Demosthenes was crowned by the Athenian people for the virtue and goodwill always shown by him both in speech and action in his country's behalf. Brief and simple as this formula was, it appeared to

imply, under the circumstances, an approval of Demosthenes's whole political course, and to be a protest against the Macedonian hegemony.

When, therefore, this decree, after its passage by the Five Hundred, was presented to the Assembly for concurrence, it was opposed by Æschines on the ground of illegality both in form and substance, and a prosecution was in consequence instituted against Ctesiphon, styled the *Graphe Paranomon*. The formal objections were that no such decree could be passed while the accounts of a public officer remained unsettled, and as Demosthenes had not yet had his accounts audited as a member of the Wall Commission, and as Administrator of the Theoric Fund, the proposed coronation was illegal. Furthermore, the coronation as proposed could not be made in the theatre at all, but must be done at the Pnyx during the holding of an Assembly. The objection of substance struck at the orator's whole political life. It was contended that as nothing untrue could be introduced into a public record, and as it was false that Demosthenes had always by speech and action advised what was best for the interests of the people, the decree was illegal and void, and its propounder guilty.

This occurred in the year 336, a few days before Philip's death, but the trial remained suspended for more than six years, and was not taken up until the year 330. The cause of the delay has not been explained. Perhaps the prosecutor waited for the most favorable time to bring the trial on, and Ctesiphon and his friends might naturally not be averse to delay.

Be the reason what it might nothing was done until after the battles of Issus and Arbela, when Alexander, having conquered the Persians, was preparing to advance to the Indus. The moment was judged favorable, and the cause began before a jury of 500 dicasts.

Æschines, on behalf of the prosecution spoke first, pronouncing the discourse which still survives. He presented the legal points with great force and ability, and then launched into a violent personal and political attack upon his rival. The whole public career of Demosthenes was harshly examined, and it was endeavored to be shown that his policy had from the first been unfortunate for the interests of Athens, until it culminated in the fatal battle of Chæronea. On the other hand the moderation of both Philip and Alexander was praised; and the speaker claimed merit for his intimacy and friendship with them, and for the manner in which he had made use of them to the advantage of the City.

The most bitter personal assault was made upon Demosthenes, his parentage and his private life and habits being grossly slandered, and cowardice was attributed to him on the day on which Athens had need of the valor of all her sons. Æschines even reproached his adversary with his ill-fortune, and asserted that nothing ever contrived by him had succeeded, since the Gods themselves were against him.

Ctesiphon defended himself in a few words, and then Demosthenes arose and pronounced what by universal acclaim is regarded as the most perfect of orations.

He began by demanding of his judges the right to arrange and present his arguments in the order which he deemed most convenient, and after a solemn invocation to his country's Gods to inspire his hearers to listen to him with the same benevolence they had ever shown him, he gave a rapid but masterly sketch of the condition of Athens at the time peace was concluded in the year 347, proving that the venality of Æschines and his fellows had helped Philip in his attempt to get the control of Greece. He next touched briefly but emphatically the technical points of the cause; and after replying with great severity to the personal assaults made upon him, contrasting the private life and fortune

of Æschines with his own, he finally passed in review before the Jury his whole political life. His policy it is true had not succeeded, Athens had succumbed and the Macedonian was triumphant. But had the City committed a mistake in striving to repress Philip's ambitious efforts, and to preserve her leadership in Greece? As he warmed up he even asserted that had the result been foreknown to all, Athens must still have acted as she had, having due regard for herself, her ancestors, and posterity. The issue had been decided against her, but her glories though dimmed were still preserved.

The trial was one of the greatest ever known. It was in reality the conflict between the advocates of independence on the one hand and the upholders of submission on the other. All Greece was present and pressed round the platform from which the orator declaimed. The result was creditable to the sense of justice of the Athenians, and shed a dying ray of light upon the City which dared, in spite of the insolence of power, to give a verdict in accordance with truth and honor. Ctesiphon was acquitted by an immense majority, Æschines not obtaining a fifth part of the votes, which was necessary to protect him from fine. He went into voluntary exile, and it is said his rival aided him from his own purse when he left the City.

The authenticity of many indeed of most of the documents given in the speech has been denied, and it is believed upon sufficient grounds. The names of the archons are incorrect, and the style of the pieces themselves is said to be vague and declamatory. It is thought, however, that they should not be rejected altogether, but that their substance is probably near the truth.

DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN.

First of all, Athenians, I implore of all the Gods and Goddesses, that the same goodwill which I feel and have ever shown to the City and to all of you shall be shown by you to me in this contest. Next,—this concerns you especially, your piety and glory,—that the Gods may inspire you not to suffer my antagonist to control you as to the manner in which you shall hear my defence, (this would indeed be cruel,) but that in this you will keep before you the law and your oath, in which, among other proper things, this also is prescribed, that **YOU SHALL REGARD BOTH SIDES EQUALLY**. And this means not only that you shall not forejudge anything, not merely that you shall show the same goodwill to both sides, but that you shall freely permit each party to adopt that arrangement and course of argument in his address which he may prefer and think most convenient.

In many things, indeed, am I at a disadvantage with Æschines in this encounter;—in two matters of great importance, in particular.

We are by no means equal in this;—it is not the same thing to me if I shall forfeit your goodwill, to him if he merely fails in the prosecution:—to me, indeed—but I dare not in the outset of my reply say anything of ill-omen. My opponent therefore accuses me at his ease. Again, men by their constitution hear readily attacks and abuse of others, but listen with disgust to all self-panegyric. What is agreeable, therefore, falls to his part; to me is left, so to speak, what is distasteful to all to hear. If, on the one hand then, in the fear of thus offending, I omit to speak of what has been done by me, I may seem to fail to answer the charges brought against me by not showing for what I am entitled to honor: on the other hand, in dwelling upon my course of action and my policy, I shall be often compelled to

speak of myself. I shall endeavor, however, to do this with as much reserve as possible, but for so much as I shall be forced to say, it is proper to hold him responsible who has instituted this prosecution.

Men of Athens and jurors, I think you will all admit that this prosecution concerns me as much as Ctesiphon, and deserves no less earnest attention from my hands than from his. For, to be deprived of everything, especially by an enemy, is grievous and hard to bear, but to lose your good opinion and your affection is the greatest of misfortunes, as their possession is the most inestimable blessing.

Such being the nature of the controversy, I beseech you all alike to listen to my defence to this accusation with the fairness that the laws require. Those laws, established long ago by Solon, who was your well-wisher and a friend of the people, were thought by him not only to be binding by reason of their inscription, but because you were sworn to observe them. Not that, as it seems to me, he distrusted you in so causing you to be sworn, but that he foresaw that the accused could never escape the enmities and malice in which the strength of the prosecutor from being allowed to speak first, lies, unless each one of the jury, guarding his probity by an appeal to the Gods, should listen favorably and justly to what should be asserted by the defence, and in the same spirit of impartiality to both sides enter upon an examination of the whole cause.

Since I am about to give, then, as it would seem, an account as well of my whole private life as of my public career, I desire, as in the outset, to appeal again to the immortal Gods; and in presence of you all, I implore them first to direct you to show to me in this contest the same kindness which I have ever felt to you and to your city; next, that they will inspire you so to pass upon this prosecution as shall redound to your common credit, and to the elevation of the character of each one of you.

Had Æschines merely followed in the line of his attack the matters upon which he has founded the prosecution, I could have readily defended the preliminary decree; but since he has, in unmeasured speech, gone over many other things, lavishing the foulest abuse upon me, it is necessary and proper that I should first reply to this, lest some of you led astray by these foreign matters, might hear me with disfavor upon the merits of the charge itself.

See how fairly and directly I shall reply to all which this man has so slanderously alleged about my private life. If you have known me to be such as he accuses me, (and I have lived my whole life among you,) permit not my voice to be heard, no matter how well I have managed public affairs, but rise and condemn me on the spot. If, on the other hand, you believe and know me to be better and of better descent than my accuser, and,—not to speak too presumptuously,—that I and mine are inferior to no respectable citizens, then disregard everything which he has said about my public life, since it will be apparent he has falsified in everything. I shall only ask you to show me now the same kindness which you have always shown in the past in the many contests in which I have been engaged. But malicious as you are, Æschines, you must think me very simple should I now pass by all that you have said about my political course, and begin by taking up your abuse of my private character. I shall do nothing of the kind. I am not quite so absurd. I shall first notice your falsehoods and slanders about my public life; and afterwards touch upon the scurrilous abuse you have been pouring out so freely upon me, should the jurors wish to hear me about it.

The charges which have been made are many and astounding, and to some of them the laws affix severe and even the greatest punishments; but the management of this prosecution presents all the abuse and insulting conduct of a private enemy, the

malice, the contumelious treatment, and all its characteristics. If the charges and accusations brought are true, the City can never take sufficient vengeance on them, or anything like it. It is most unseemly therefore to prevent the person accused from appealing to the people and exercising his right of speech before them; but to act thus in the interest of private enmity and malice, by the Gods, Athenians, I hold to be most unrighteous and unjust. If he has known me to be guilty of deliberate breaches of the law against the City, be they as enormous as he has been declaiming and charging, let the penalties affixed to them be awarded. If I have done acts deserving impeachment, why has he not impeached me and brought me to trial before you for it? If my conduct has been unconstitutional, let it be so proved and punished. But let him not pursue Ctesiphon for me: for had he thought he could have convicted me, he would not have failed to accuse me.

Besides, had he seen me committing any of the crimes of which he has just been falsely accusing and charging upon me, or any other offences against you, for all such there were laws, and punishments, and trials, and judgments, with sharp and severe penalties: all these it was open to him to employ against me; and had he been found doing this, had he made use of this method against me, his charges would at least have been consistent with his actions. Now, however, he has turned aside from the honest and direct path, and avoiding at the time to confront the allegations with the proofs, he is playing a part by gathering together at this late day accusations, and calumnies, and ribaldry.

Furthermore, he is attacking ME, whilst he is prosecuting Ctesiphon, making his hatred of me the head and front of the whole contest; and not fairly meeting me even on this ground, he is endeavoring to take away the privileges of another. Thus in addition to all the arguments, Athenians, which may be brought forward in favor of Ctesiphon, this it seems to me may

also be strongly urged, that it is proper that the inquiry into our private griefs should be made between ourselves, and that we should not quit our personal quarrel, to find out how much punishment we can inflict upon a third person; this would be the height of injustice. //

Any one can then see from what I have said, how all that he has brought against me is devoid of truth and justice. But I wish to examine the charges separately, and in particular what he has falsely accused me of in regard to the peace and the embassy, which was really done by himself in concert with Philocrates. It is necessary and right to do this, that you may have brought to your recollection what actually took place at that time, so that you can look at each event in its proper order.

When the Phocian war broke out, (not caused by me,—I was not then in public life,)—you were at first in this position; although you knew the Phocians had acted improperly, yet you did not desire their ruin; and as you had just cause of displeasure against the Thebans, you would even have been pleased at their suffering somewhat at the Phocians' hands. For the Thebans had used their success at Leuctra immoderately; and all Peloponnesus was at variance with itself. Neither those who hated the Lacedemonians were strong enough to crush them; nor were those who by the Spartans' means had at first triumphed able to remain masters of the Cities. Everywhere secret enmity, strife and trouble prevailed,—not only there, but throughout all the States. All this was manifest to Philip,—(indeed it was plain enough,)—and he scattered his bribes freely to traitors in every city in order to set everyone by the ears; and by thus introducing confusion and hatred among them to take advantage of their blunders and dissensions, that he himself might grow in strength to their detriment.

The Thebans,—then insolent enough, now alas so unfortunate,—worn out by the length of the war, were manifestly compelled

to turn to you; but Philip, anxious to prevent this and to keep the cities apart, offered peace to you and aid to them. Why was he so near taking you as willing captives by his seductive arts? It was through the malevolence, or the folly,—or call it both,—of the other Greeks. While you had been carrying on a long and incessant war for the common benefit of all, as the result plainly showed, they never assisted you in the least, either by money, by troops, or in any way. Justly and naturally displeased with this, you listened readily to Philip. The peace that was concluded was thus brought about in this way,—not through me, as Æschines has falsely asserted. The cause, then, of our present condition, any one who shall fairly inquire, will find in the criminality and corruption of these men at the time of the treaty.

All this I have accurately recounted for the sake of truth. If anything seems wrong in it, it is not with me. The first man who spoke of or called your attention to peace, was Aristodemus, the actor; he who came next and wrote the decree, hired by Philip for the purpose equally with the other, was Philocrates, the Agnusian,—YOUR accomplice, Æschines, not MINE,—though you should burst with falsely asserting this, I say it. Their supporters, whatever were their motives (I pass this by for the present,) were Eubulus and Kephesiphon. I had nothing to do with it. But although this was so, as has just been clearly shown, he has nevertheless reached this height of effrontery as to assert boldly that I was the author of the peace, and that I prevented the City from concluding it with the Common Council of the Greeks. Oh, you!—How can any one rightly characterize you? If you were present and saw me depriving the City of this fine thing, this alliance as grand as you now style it, why did you not express your indignation, why did you not come forward and proclaim and expose what you are now denouncing me for? And if, in Philip's pay, I was defeating the common interests of Greece, you should not have then sat silent, but you should have

thundered, and have vehemently attacked and protested against it. You then did nothing of the kind; no one ever heard that voice of yours. And for a good reason, Athenians. No embassy was sent by you to any of the Greeks; they had all long before declared themselves. Æschines has told nothing true about this.

Moreover, in all that he has said he has chiefly slandered the City. For had you invited the other Greeks into this war, and had then sent ambassadors to Philip to treat of peace, your conduct would have been that of Eurybatus, unworthy of the City, or of honorable men. But it is not, it is not so. Why should you have sent ambassadors at that time? To treat of peace? All then had it. To discuss war? But you then desired peace. It is plain that I was neither the author of the peace, nor even advocated it; nor was I, as has been shown, the cause of any of the other things with which he has falsely charged me.

Peace being then concluded, let us see what part each of us played, that you may thence understand who was working in everything for Philip, and who was active in your behalf eagerly on the look out for what might be useful to the City. It was then that I wrote the decree directing the ambassadors to sail without delay to wheresoever Philip might be, and to receive from him the oaths. They, however, by no means wished to do as I had decreed. The value of the decree I will explain.

It was Philip's interest to delay the taking of the oaths as long as he could, whilst it was yours to have it done as soon as possible, and for this reason. From the very day not only on which you had sworn to the peace, but from the time you had hoped it might be obtained, you had laid aside all preparation for war. Philip, on the contrary, had from that moment redoubled his efforts, convinced, as it really turned out, that whatever he might deprive the City of, he should be able to retain firmly, as no one would be disposed to give up peace on that account. I foresaw

this, Athenians, and carefully weighing the matter, I prepared the decree requiring them to sail to where Philip was, and there at once receive the oaths from him. The oaths were to be taken, that the Thracians your allies should still retain the places which Æschines now belittles—Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergisce—and that Philip should not seize the principal posts, and thus becoming master of all Thrace, draw from it resources and troops, and be readily enabled to accomplish his further purposes.

Æschines neither reads this decree nor notices it, but attacks me because I advised that it was proper to receive Philip's envoys. But what was to be done? To decree that after coming hither they should not be admitted to confer with you? Or was the manager of the Theatre to be ordered not to furnish them seats? For two oboli they could have purchased them in spite of a decree. Would it not have been well in me to have watched over these petty interests of the City, and to have betrayed its important ones, as these men did? By all means. Read now the decree which this man has altogether ignored.

DECREE.

“In the archonship of Mnesiphilus on the last day of Hecatombeon, during the presidency of the tribe Pandion, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania moved, that whereas Philip had sent ambassadors to treat of peace with us upon certain stipulated conditions, it should be decreed by the Council and people of Athens that for the purpose of ratifying the peace which had been agreed upon in the first assembly, five ambassadors chosen from all the Athenians should proceed without delay to meet Philip wheresoever he might be, and there exchange oaths with him as speedily as possible upon the terms agreed upon between him and the Athenian people, the allies on both sides being included in the treaty.

The ambassadors chosen are Eubulus, of Anaphlestus; Æschines, of Cothocidæ; Kephisophon, of Rhamnus; Democrates, of Phlya; and Cleon, of Cothocidæ."

This decree had been prepared by me in the City's interest, not in Philip's; but our precious envoys utterly disregarding it, sat down three whole months in Macedonia, until Philip had left Thrace after reducing it entirely to submission. In ten days,—even in three or four,—they could have reached the Hellespont, and saved these places, by receiving the oaths from him before he had captured them. He could never have touched them had we been present;—certainly we should not have received the oaths from him: he would have missed the peace, or never could have held on to both the peace and these posts.

This was Philip's first perfidy, the purchase, in the matter of the embassy, of these abominable men, accursed of the Gods. For this I was then, am now, and ever shall be their enemy and opponent. But you shall see immediately after this, a still greater piece of villainy. Philip having at last taken the oaths, but not until he had made himself master of Thrace through the disobedience of these men to my decree, obtained from them for a price that we should not quit Macedonia, until he had everything ready for his expedition against the Phocians. He feared that if we should let you know what he was preparing to do, you might sail with your fleet to Thermopylæ and close the straits, as you had formerly done; he hoped, therefore, you would receive no intelligence until he was fairly there, and then you could do nothing.

But Philip was in fear and mortal agony lest, after he had taken the pass, you might still resolve to aid the Phocians before he had destroyed them, and the thing should thus slip through his hands. So he bribes this miserable creature, not in the lump with the other envoys, but singly by himself, to announce to you such propositions that by giving heed to them everything might

be ruined. I call upon you, Athenians, to bear witness, and I beg of you to keep in mind throughout the whole of this trial, that if Æschines had not himself travelled out of the record to load me with abuse, I should never have uttered a single word foreign to it. But to all the accusations and assaults which he has so freely made against me, I must absolutely reply a little by way of answer to the various charges contained in them.

What was it, then, that was announced to you by him, which caused this entire ruin?—"That you need not be uneasy because Philip had taken possession of the Straits; for everything would turn out as you wished, if you would only keep quiet; and in two or three days you would find out that he would prove the friend of those against whom he was marching as an enemy, and the enemy of those to whom he seemed friendly. It was not words," said he, talking in his solemn manner, "but a community of interest that really cemented friendship. Your interest and Philip's and the Phocians' were the same,—to free yourself from the insolence and heavy oppression of the Thebans."

All this was received with satisfaction by many of you on account of the secret dislike felt against the Thebans. What took place soon afterwards? It was not long in coming.—The Phocians were destroyed; their cities annihilated. You who had waited patiently, relying upon this fellow, were in a little while compelled to bring all your effects in from the country to the city, Æschines pocketed his pay, and at the same time the hatred of the Thebans and Thessalians was transferred to you, and their gratitude to Philip for what had taken place. To prove that this is so, I shall have now read to you the decree of Calisthenes and Philip's letter, which will make all as plain as daylight. Read them:

DECREE.

"In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, at a special assembly, convened by the advice of the generals, senators, and council on the

twenty-first day of Maimacterion, Calisthenes, son of Eteonicus, of Phalerum, moved that no Athenian should under any pretext pass the night in the country, but that all should remain in the city and in Piræus, except such as were distributed in the garrisons; that these last should maintain their posts, neither quitting them by day or night; that any one disobeying should be punished as a traitor unless he could show the impossibility of obedience, the cause of disobedience to be decided by the generals of arms and superintendence, assisted by the scribe. All property should be brought as speedily as possible from the country into the city, and into Piræus, if the distance did not exceed one hundred and twenty stadia; beyond that distance into Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnus, and Sunium. Calisthenes of Phalerum has so moved."

Was this the hope with which you made peace; or was this the promise which this hireling held out to you?

Read now the letter which Philip sent you after all was done.

LETTER.

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the Council and People of Athens, Greeting: Know that I have passed Thermopylæ and have attacked Phocis of my own free will. In such of their towns as have at once submitted I have placed garrisons; those which have resisted I have taken by force, razed to the ground, and sold their inhabitants into slavery. As I have learned that you were preparing to assist them, I now write to you that you may save yourselves the trouble. You seem, however, to be acting altogether unfairly in your intention of marching against me while you are still at peace with me,—and for the Phocians, too, who are not included in our treaties. Should you fail to stand by our mutual obligations you will gain nothing more than to be the first to commit injustice."

See how plainly in this letter to you he discloses himself, and speaks to his allies. "I have done this," says he, "in spite of the Athenians, and to their great annoyance; if you are wise, Thebans and Thessalians, you will abandon them as your enemies, and trust entirely to me." He does not, it is true, use these very words, but this is what he designs to convey. In this manner he so got the mastery of them, that they foresaw, they perceived nothing, and allowed him ever after to manage everything in his own way. Hence all the disasters which the wretched Thebans have suffered. But he who was the fellow-worker with Philip, and, with him, the cause of this confidence, he who announced falsehoods to you, and altogether deceived you, this is the man who is now pitying the miseries of the Thebans, giving their sad detail, himself the author of all the calamities of the Phocians, and of whatever else the Greeks have been afflicted with. It is very plain that you Æschines are mourning over what has happened, and are compassionating the Thebans; you, who possess their property, and are cultivating their fields in Bœotia, while I, forsooth, am rejoicing over it, I, who was at once demanded to be delivered up to the originator of all this ruin!

But I am touching upon matters which it will be more fitting to speak of a little later. I shall show hereafter that the iniquity of these men was the cause of all our present disasters.

After you had been thus cheated in the embassy by Philip through these men who had been purchased by him to report nothing truly to you, after the unhappy Phocians had been cheated and their cities had been destroyed, what next occurred? The contemptible Thessalians and the besotted Thebans regarded Philip as their friend, benefactor, and savior. He was all in all to them. They would not hear a word against this. You, however, who were much annoyed at what had taken place, and naturally distrustful, still kept the peace; indeed there was nothing

else to do. The other Greeks, tricked like yourselves, and bereft of all their hopes, willingly kept the peace too, although in a certain sense all were much nearer a state of war. For when Philip had overcome the Illyrians and Triballians, besides destroying some of the Grecian cities, in this way mightily increasing his power and resources; and when many of these vile men, some from every city, Æschines among the rest, had repaired to his Court, under the pretext of the peace, to receive the wages of corruption, all the States against which Philip had been manœuvring, he was really at war with. If they did not see this, that was another affair, and no fault of mine. I spoke out and I testified both at home and wherever I was sent by you, in season and out of season. But the States of Greece were in the lethargy of disease; the men at the head of affairs had been bribed by largesses; of the citizens, some closed their eyes to what was going on, others led a hand-to-mouth life of easy indifference;—all were afflicted with the same malady. They believed the impending blow would not fall upon their heads, and some actually wished and saw their own safety in the ruin of their neighbors. It happened, indeed, that while the people lost their liberties from preferring to them an inglorious ease, their leaders who thought they were selling every one but themselves, were the first who were betrayed. Instead of friends and guests,—the names bestowed upon them while they were being purchased,—they were called parasites, enemies of the Gods, and such like names, when they were no longer serviceable. And justly.—For no one, Athenians, thinks of the interests of the corrupt man when he is bribing him, or continues to take the advice of a traitor after he has become master of what he has been buying from him. Nothing would be pleasanter than a traitor's life were this so: but it is not;—very far from it. When he who is striving for the mastery reaches the height of power, and becomes the lord of the betrayers, that moment he sees through all their villainy, and

hates, and mistrusts, and loathes them. Consider this; if the time of action be past, the time for looking at things as they really are is at least always present to the wise man. Lasthenes was thus called Philip's friend until he betrayed Olynthus to him, and no longer. And Timolaus, until he ruined Thebes. So also Eudicus and Simus the Larissians, until they had placed Thessaly at Philip's feet. After this, despised, insulted, and a prey to every evil, the life of these traitors was a life of wandering. How did Aristratus fare in Sicyon, and Perilaus in Megara? Were they not outcasts? From all this it is plain, Æschines, that he who cherishes his country, and is ever opposed to such men as you, really enables the traitor and the venal statesman to trade upon his corruption; for it is by the people, and the men who are opposed to your designs, that you continue safe and purchasable; you would have long since been ruined by your own conduct.

I have still much more to say about these matters, but perhaps I have said too much already. This man, however, is the cause of it; as he has been pouring out upon me the dregs of his vile abuse and injustice, it was necessary I should defend myself against it with the younger portion of my hearers, who are new to what took place so long ago. You are all doubtless now weary of it, since you must have been convinced of his having been in Philip's pay before I said a word upon the subject. He calls it friendship and intimacy, and speaking of me in connection with it a little while ago, he said, "He finds fault with my intimacy with Alexander."—I talk of your intimacy with Alexander? How did you obtain it, and what is your title to it? I never called you the guest of Philip, or the friend of Alexander. I have not quite lost my senses. You might as well speak of the reapers and hired laborers as the friends and guests of their employers. I did call you the hireling first of Philip, and afterwards of Alexander; and all who are listening know it is so.

If you doubt it, ask them; or rather I will do it for you. Athenians, which is Æschines, Alexander's hired man, or his friend?—You hear their answer.

I now desire, however, to answer the charge itself, and to speak in detail about my public life. Æschines already knows it, but he shall hear from what I say that I happen to be not only deserving of the honors which were decreed to me, but of rewards very much greater. Read the accusation.

ACCUSATION.

“In the archonship of Chairondas, on the sixth day of Elaphebolion, Æschines, son of Atrometus, of Cothocidæ, lodged with the Archon an accusation against Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, the Anaphlystian, for that contrary to law he has brought forward a decree providing that Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, shall be crowned with a golden crown, proclamation to be made in the theatre during the Dyonisiac festivals while the new tragedies are being performed, that the People crown the aforesaid Demosthenes with a golden crown as a reward for his virtue and the good will which he has ever displayed towards all the Greeks and the people of Athens in particular, and for his excellence in speech and action in behalf of the true interests of the people, and his zeal in doing the best that could be done; all of which was decreed by him falsely and contrary to law; the laws in the first place forbidding falsehoods to be injected into the public records; next, it being unlawful to vote a crown to a person whose accounts have not been passed, the said Demosthenes being still a Commissioner for the erection of walls, and a member of the Board of the Theoric fund; and lastly, it being contrary to law that the crowning of any one should be proclaimed at the Theatre during the Dyonisiac festivals at the time of the new tragedies, it being required that if a crown be voted by the Council, proclamation thereof shall be made in the Council

Chamber, and if by the City, at the Pnyx during the holding of an Assembly. The fine incurred is fifty talents. Witnesses, Kephisophon, son of Kephisophon, of Rhamnus; Cleon, son of Cleon, of Cothocidæ."

This is what is charged, Athenians, against the Decree. From the language of the charge itself, I think I shall make it clear to you that I shall be able to answer it successfully. I shall pursue the same order as that of the accusation, and meet every specification in detail, omitting nothing purposely.

As the decree commends me for having always, by word and deed, acted for the true interest of Athens, and for having zealously accomplished the best that was in my power, I necessarily regard my public life as placed in issue. From a careful review of it it will then be found whether Ctesiphon, in proposing what he did, spoke truly or falsely. It is plain, however, that the coronation was not to take place after I had given in my accounts; and as it was ordered to be done in the theatre, I think it is equally plain that this referred also to my public career. Whether I was deserving or not of this honor, and of its being proclaimed in the manner mentioned, it seems to me must also depend upon the laws under which Ctesiphon was authorized to decree as he did. I shall then, men of Athens, make my defence fairly and fully in this way, and go over my public life at considerable length. And let no one suppose I shall be departing from the scope of the accusation should I touch upon matters relating to the affairs of Greece. In attacking the decree as untruly stating that I did not advise and perform what was best for my country, the propounder of the charge has made my whole policy pertinent and even necessary to its discussion. And as upon my entrance into public life I made choice of the department of the affairs of Greece, from this quarter also I am entitled to draw my proofs.

I pass by altogether what Philip had gotten and held before I began to speak and to take part in affairs; with this, I think, I have no concern. But from the day on which I undertook to act a part, in what way I was able to resist his plans I shall mention in detail, first premising, however, as follows: Philip had one enormous advantage in this, that throughout Greece, not here and there but everywhere, there was a swarm of traitors and corrupt men, enemies of the Gods, such as theretofore no one could recollect having ever seen. These men he made use of as coworkers in his purpose, and what was at first bad enough in the conduct of the Greeks towards each other, he flagitiously made much worse by deceiving some, purchasing others, and setting all at variance, and he thus diverted into an hundred channels what should have been the single purpose of all,—to resist his growing greatness. In this conjuncture, and in disregard of the existing and growing evil by the other Greeks, it becomes us to consider what was proper for the City to do, and to hold me responsible for what was actually done. For it was I who settled its policy in this respect.

Was the City, Æschines, to abjure its pride and dignity, and to imitate the Thessalians and Dolopians in helping Philip to obtain the headship of Greece, and thus set at nought the wise and glorious precedents of our ancestors? Or if she abstained from doing this,—it is indeed too hard to believe this possible,—after foreseeing from afar what would inevitably take place unless resisted, was she to disregard it altogether? And here I would willingly ask the most envious carper at what was done, which side he would have wished the City to embrace,—to be an instrument in bringing about the calamities and disgraces which befell Greece, as the Thessalians and those who worked with them were, or to ignore totally what was taking place in the hope of purchasing their own security, as we saw the Arcadians and Messenians and Argives do? Yet most of these States, or in fact

all of them, suffered more than we.—Had Philip, indeed, after his success, thought proper to retrace his steps, and to remain quiet, neither persecuting his allies nor the other Greeks, there might have been grounds for the accusation which has been brought against the opponents of his policy. But when he was aiming to strike down not only the glory, the power, the liberties of our people, but their very institutions themselves so far as he could, can it be possible that in following my advice you have not pursued the most honorable course?

But I return to this.—What did it behoove the City, Æschines, to do when it saw Philip preparing to obtain the command and empire of Greece? What did it become me, a Counsellor of Athens, to advise by words or by decrees; (this is the vital point;)—I, who knew my country had always, from the earliest times down to the very hour I first ascended the platform, been striving for the highest place in honor and glory, and with a noble emulation had spent more treasure and given more lives to assist Greece than all the Greeks together had done to assist themselves?—I, who saw this very Philip, with whom you were contending for leadership and mastery, with one eye gone, his shoulder shattered, maimed of a hand and leg, yet freely abandoning to fortune whatever else she wanted of his body, if only he might live glorious and honored with what was left? Not only this, but that any one should dare to say that such a height of arrogance could enter the breast of a man reared at Pella—a little spot unknown to Fame—as to aspire to or even conceive of attaining to the command of Greece; and that such abject baseness was yours, Athenians, who saw each day, in every word uttered, and in every spectacle around you, the memorials of your ancestors' virtue,—that you could abandon, that you could voluntarily give up to Philip the liberties of Greece!—Impossible that any one should say this! You were then all bound to oppose this man's injustice by every just means. And you

fairly and willingly assumed this from the start; and I counselled, and I wrote decrees, and I contrived according to my ability throughout all this time. But what was the best thing to be done?

I ask you again;—put aside Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonnesus, and the rest,—I make no mention of them. And so also as to Serrium, Doriscus, and the destruction of Peparëthus, and whatever else the country was injured in;—I care not if they took place. And yet you have said that it was I who, in advising as to these things, precipitated the Athenians into hostility with Philip, when in reality the decrees were written by Eubulus and Aristophon and Diopythes. Oh reckless utterer of whatever you choose to say!—I will not now, however, speak of these things.—But when Philip appropriated Eubœa to himself, making use of it as an objective point against Attica, and laid his hands upon Megara, and captured Oreus, and destroyed Porthmus, and on the one side established Philistides as tyrant in Oreus, and on the other Kleitarchus in Eretria, and reduced the Hellespont under his control, and besieged Byzantium, and took possession of some Grecian cities, and put back in others the fugitives from them,—was the man who did all this, acting with injustice? And was he setting his engagements at nought? And did he break the peace or not? And was it proper that any Grecian State should try to prevent all this? If it was not, but it was right that Greece should become a Mysian prey, the Athenians strong and powerful looking on meanwhile, then I wasted my breath in speaking as I did, and the City wasted its time in paying attention to me, and all that was done by me was a blunder and a wrong. But if it was right for any of the Grecian States to interfere to prevent all this, then was not Athens the proper party to do it? I did direct all my measures to this end; I did oppose this man, whom I saw attempting to enslave every people; and both by my words and by my teachings I did advise you not to permit all Greece to be delivered into his hands. I admit all this.

It was not the City, however, Æschines, which broke the peace; it was Philip, by taking our ships. Bring forward the decrees and Philip's letter, and read them consecutively; it will then be apparent who was the cause of this.

DECREE.

"In the archonship of Neocles, in the month Boedromion, at an extraordinary assembly convened by the generals, Eubulus, son of Mnesitheus, of Koprus, moved that whereas the generals had announced to the assembly that Leodamas, our admiral, and twenty ships under his command, which had been sent to the Hellespont for the transport of corn, had been carried off by Amyntas, Philip's general, to Macedonia, and there kept under guard, the senators and generals should provide that a council be called to choose deputies to be sent to Philip to complain of the capture of our admiral and ships and sailors. And if it shall appear that Amyntas has done this through ignorance, the Athenians find no fault with him. Or if it be alleged that he captured Leodamas because he was transgressing his orders, the Athenians will examine into it, and punish him according to the measure of his offence. But if neither of these things be the cause, and the wrong has been done by the orders either of Philip or his lieutenant, then the deputies shall report this, so that the people may consider the matter and advise as to what ought to be done."

This decree was written by Eubulus, not by me. And then came Aristophon with another, and Hegesippus with his, then Aristophon again, then Philocrates, then Kephisophon, then all the others with theirs. But I proposed none. Read again.

DECREE.

"In the archonship of Neocles, on the last day of Boedromion, the senators and generals brought and submitted to the opinion

of the Council the decree of the Assembly that it had seemed proper to the people that deputies should be sent to Philip in regard to the taking of our ships, and that instructions be given to them according to the tenor of the Assembly's decree. The following persons were chosen: Kephisophon, son of Kleon, the Anaphlystian, Democritus, son of Demophon, the Anagurusian; Polycritus, son of Apemantes, the Cothocidian. In the presidency of the tribe Hippoonthontis, Aristophon, of Collytta, moving the decree."

I have now produced these decrees, and do you, Æschines, if you can, produce any which I wrote which caused the war. You cannot. If you could you would have been ready enough with it. Even Philip never accused me of this, blaming others as the authors of the war. Read Philip's letter now.

LETTER.

"Philip, King of Macedon, to the Council and people of Athens, Greeting:—The deputies sent by you to me, Kephisophon, and Democritus, and Polycritus, have complained about the capture of your ships under the command of Leodamas. You seem to me to be very simple if you think I am ignorant that your sending these ships to transport corn from the Hellespont to Lemnos was a pretext, it being in reality to assist the Selymbrians who were besieged by me and who were not included in our common treaties of friendship. And this was done without the knowledge of the people by your admiral acting under the orders of certain men then controlling or who now control your affairs, who desire in every way, notwithstanding our existing friendship, that you should be at war with me, being much more anxious to bring this about than to aid the Selymbrians, and also believing that they would make profit out of it. It seems to me, however, it will neither be of service to you nor to me. I return your ships

to you, and for the rest if you will not be influenced by the men who have been ill-advising you but will disgrace them, I on my part will endeavor to preserve the peace. Farewell."

In no manner, you see, did he accuse Demosthenes, nor in any way inculpate him. Why was it, then, that when he was finding fault with all the others, he made no reference to anything which had been done by me? Because in attacking me, he would have brought forward the remembrance of his own injustice. Those acts of wrong I had always set myself against, those perfidies I had always opposed. When Philip first stole into Peloponnesus, I sent thither an embassy; so also did I to Eubœa, when he was trying to pounce upon that island; and when he was endeavoring to establish tyrants in Oreus and Eretria, I sent thither no embassies, but military expeditions. I then dispatched the fleets by which Chersonnesus, Byzantium, and all our allies were saved.

In consequence of this, there flowed in upon you from the states which you had thus relieved, praise, glory, honors, crowns, thanks, the highest commendations. Of those who had been wronged and who had heeded your advice the safety was assured; those who had neglected to follow what you had so often tried to impress upon them, now found out that you had not only been well disposed to them, but came to look upon you as wise and far seeing men: everything fell out as you had predicted. What would not Philistides have given to have kept Oreus, or Clitarchus to have kept Eretria, or Philip, himself, to have had these cities under his control, so that he could use them against you;—to have had no one to call him to account for his other misdeeds, no censor to overlook and control him in his acts of injustice? No one feels any doubt as to this, and nobody less than you, Æschines. For the envoys who were sent hither by Philistides and Clitarchus took up their quarters with you, you were their host. When the City dismissed them as enemies who were proposing unjust things,

you stood their friend. But none of those things was done, calumniator of my conduct, who assert that I am silent when my hands are full, but that I cry out when they are empty! You, on the contrary, cry out when your hands are full; and will never cease until your fellow-citizens shall stop your mouth by a sentence of disgrace. It was then that you, my fellow-citizens, crowned me for what I had done, and Aristonicus wrote the decree in the self same words which Ctesiphon has used in the present one. The proclamation was ordered to be made in the theatre; and although I received the honor for the second time, and Æschines was present, he brought no accusation against the mover of the decree. Read it here.

DECREE.

“In the archonship of Chairondas, son of Hegemon, on the 25th day of Gamelion, during the presidency of the tribe Leontis, Aristonicus, of Phrearii, moved that Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of Pæania, having rendered many and great services to the Athenian people, particularly to many of their allies, having at the present time aided them by decrees, and brought about the freedom of certain cities in Eubœa, and having manifested his goodwill to the City, and said and done what was best for the other Athenians and all the Greeks, it be decreed by the Council and people of Athens that the said Demosthenes be publicly praised and crowned with a golden crown, and that the crown be conferred upon him in the theatre at the Dyonisiac festivals, at the representation of the new tragedies. The presiding tribe and the Master of the Games shall take charge of the proclamation. Aristonicus, of Phrearii, has brought forward the decree.”

Do any of you see that by the passage of this decree the City disgraced herself, or laid herself open to the sneers or ridicule

which this man says will be levelled at her if I am now crowned? And yet when the matter was recent and understood by every one, had it been well done it would have met with thanks; had it been ill-done it would have received censure. At that time, at least, I appear to have received commendation, not dispraise or dishonor.

The time in which these things took place, I call all to witness, was at least a period when I was doing everything in the City's interest: a period in which I was in the ascendancy in your councils both in speech and action, and when, by my decrees being carried into effect, honors and crowns were in consequence voted to the City and to me, and to all of you, and sacrifices and solemn processions were made by you to the Gods on account of our successes.

Philip being thus driven out of Eubœa by your arms, and by my policy and my decrees,—this I will say, though some of you should burst at hearing it,—he sought to engineer a new device against the City. Knowing that you consumed more foreign corn than all the rest of the world, he resolved to make himself master of the carrying trade, and for this purpose he came to Thrace and endeavored to incite his allies, the Byzantians, to make war against you. When they would not do this, saying, and saying truly, that their alliance was not for any such purpose, Philip turned round, drew a line of circumvallation about their City, and, planting his engines down, commenced its siege. I need hardly ask what was your duty in this conjuncture: it was clear to all. Who was it, however, who brought relief to the Byzantines and saved them? Who was it who then prevented the Hellespont from passing under the control of another? It was you, Athenians, and when I say you I mean the City. And who was it that was speaking, and decreeing, and acting in the City's behalf, giving himself up to her entirely and without reserve? It was I.—The great things which were then done in

aid of all, you cannot learn from words alone,—from the work itself you have approved them. That war, apart from the glory which it conferred, brought to you a more abundant supply of all the necessities of life at cheaper rates than this present peace made against the City's interests, which Æschines and his friends,—excellent men!—with their hopes for the future, have guarded so zealously, hopes which, I trust, they may be disappointed in! Let them partake with you of the good which you are asking of the Gods, but let there not be meted out to you any of the things which they have been desiring! Read here to them the crowns which the Byzantines and Perinthians voted to the City in consequence of its services.

DECREE OF THE BYZANTINES.

“In the presbytership of Bosporichus, Damagetus moved in the Assembly, with the consent of the Council, as follows: Whereas the Athenian people has in the past displayed its goodwill to the Byzantines and to their allies and relatives, the Perinthians, and has frequently sent them great assistance; and whereas when Philip of Macedon was recently invading the land, threatening to destroy their cities, firing the country, and cutting down the plantations, the Athenians sent to their relief one hundred and twenty ships, provisions, arms, and troops, and saved them from their great peril, preserving for them their form of government, their laws, and their tombs, it is ordered that there be conferred by the Byzantines and Perinthians upon the Athenians the rights of intermarriage, citizenship, property, and domicile, the first seats at the public games, the privilege of entering first in the Senate and Assembly after the sacrifices, and to those who wish to reside in their cities the right to do so exempted from public burthens. Moreover three statues, sixteen cubits in height, shall be erected upon the Bosphorus, representing the people of Athens crowned by the people of Byzantium and Perinthus, and depu-

tations shall be sent to the public meetings of the Greeks at the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian games, where proclamation shall be made of the crowns decreed by us to the Athenians, that the assembled Greeks may be certified of the virtue of the Athenians, and of the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." Read now the decree of the people of Chersonnesus voting crowns to the Athenians.

DECREE OF THE CHERSONNESIANS.

"The people of Chersonnesus, inhabiting Sestos, Eleus, Madytus, and Alopeconesus, crown the council and people of Athens with a golden crown, of the value of sixty talents; and they will furthermore erect an altar to Gratitude and to the Athenian people, as having conferred upon them the greatest possible good, in rescuing them from Philip, and preserving to them their country, their laws, their liberties, and their temples. Thus, in all time to come, their gratitude and their desire to do every good in their power to the Athenians shall not fail. Decreed in general assembly."

Thus, not only were Chersonnesus and Byzantium saved, and the Hellespont kept from Philip's control; not only was the City honored by what my measures and my policy had effected, but to the whole world were exhibited her magnanimity and Philip's baseness. What more disgraceful and scandalous spectacle than that their friend and ally should be besieging the Byzantines? Whilst you, who had just reason to blame them for the many acts of unfriendliness they had formerly committed against you, were now seen not only bearing no malice against them; not only passing over their wrongful conduct, but actually coming forward as their preservers. For this, honor, glory, renown, were lavished upon you from every side. We all know that many public men had theretofore been crowned by you; but when

could it be shown before my day that the City itself had received a crown in consequence of one of its counsellors and orators?

I come now to the abuse which Æschines has been pouring out against the Eubœans and Byzantines, while he has been reminding you of every unfriendly act they ever perpetrated against you. All this was intended to react slanderously against me; but I shall show it to be false, as I suppose you yourselves are already satisfied. Had it been true, it was necessary for us I should have acted in the matter as I did. In proof of this I wish to present one or two instances of noble acts performed by you, and this very briefly. And we must recollect, that as with the individual in private life, so must the City in its public career always strive to make its future conduct emulate the glories of the past. When the Lacedemonians were all-powerful by sea and land, and had surrounded Attica with their governors and garrisons, having taken Eubœa, Tanagra, all Boeotia, Megara, Egina, Cleonæ, and the other islands, you, Athenians, although the City was destitute both of ships and walls, did not hesitate to march to the aid of Haliartus, and again, a few days later, to Corinth. You might then have recalled the many grievances you had to complain of both from the Corinthians and the Thebans for their conduct in the Decelian war. But you did not,—far from it. Nor on either of these occasions did you act from gratitude, or from ignorance of the peril. But it did not, Æschines, make the Athenians abandon those who implored them for assistance. From a sense of honor, from a love of glory, they encountered the emergency, acting wisely as well as magnanimously. For as death is the limit of life to every one, let him hide himself where he may in some obscure hole, it becomes all gallant men to strive for what is noble, holding up high hope before them, but resolved to bear firmly whatever the Gods shall award to them.

Such was your ancestors' course, such the course of the elder amongst yourselves. For when the Thebans in the height of their power after Leuctra undertook to destroy the Lacedemonians, who had never been either friendly or even well disposed to you, but on the contrary had inflicted many and great wrongs upon your City, you prevented it. You were neither deterred by the dread of the power or reputation of the Thebans; nor did you stop to think what the men for whom you were incurring danger had formerly done against you. You thus showed all Greece that if any people had offended you you reserved your anger for another time, but did not recall and dwell upon it when danger menaced their safety or their freedom.

Nor were these the only instances of such behavior on your part. When the Thebans recently attempted to get possession of Eubœa, you would not permit it, but forgetting the injuries of Themison and Theodorus in regard to Oropus, you succored even these very men. This was at the time we had voluntary trierarchs, of whom I was one; but it is not necessary to speak now of this.

You did well in saving the island; but you did far better in honorably restoring to those who had offended you their cities and their inhabitants of which you had made yourselves masters, forgetting all their injuries from the time they had reposed their trust in you. I omit to mention a thousand other like instances, engagements by sea and by land, expeditions of all kinds, undertaken long ago by our fathers, recently by yourselves, all for the safety and the liberties of the other Greeks.

And I who had seen the City willing to exert herself on all these occasions for the safety of others, what kind of advice did it become me to offer to her when it concerned herself? To cherish enmity against those who desired to be saved by her, and to seek for pretexts by which we might have betrayed the common cause? Just heaven! Who would not have rightly put me to

death, had I attempted even by speech thus to tarnish the glories which belonged to the City? I knew well that you could not of yourselves have committed a dishonorable action. Had you desired to do so, who was there to hinder you? Was it not in your power? And were not these evil counsellors always present?

I will now return to the next in order of my public acts. And I desire you to look closely whether I acted therein for the State's best interests. I saw, Athenians, that your navy was deteriorating; the rich were exempt from all but paltry contributions towards its support, while by the assessments upon them the owners of moderate properties and the poorer classes were almost stripped of their estates, and yet the City was going behindhand. I therefore had a law passed by which the wealthy were compelled to contribute equitably, and the poor were relieved from oppression, the City being greatly the gainer by the work being done in good season. Being impeached for this, I appealed to you, and the prosecutor did not receive the fifth part of the votes. What sum of money do you imagine the heads of the Symmories, and those next to them, and even third in order, offered to me, rather than have this law passed, or to get it withdrawn when the prosecution against me began? It was so large that I dare hardly name it to you. And yet they acted prudently in doing so. For by the old law sixteen of them being chargeable together, the contribution of each single one was little or nothing, the poorer citizens being ground to powder. By my law each citizen was rated according to his property, and he who had been formerly a contributory of only a sixteenth was now the trierarch of even two ships. They even called themselves contributories, no longer trierarchs. So that to get rid of these burthens, and to escape their just liabilities, there is nothing they would not have given. Read now, first, the decree under which I was prosecuted, and then the operative parts of the old law, and the one proposed by me.

DECREE.

"In the archonship of Polycles, on the 16th day of Boedromion, during the presidency of the tribe Hippoonthontis, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, proposed a law in regard to trierarchs, in place of the old law of contributories to trierarchs. It was passed by the Council and people, whereupon Patrocles of Phlyus impeached Demosthenes, but not receiving the requisite number of votes, he has paid the fine of 500 drachmas."

Read now the honest enactment of the old law.

ENACTMENT.

"The trierarchs shall be appointed sixteen to each trireme from the contributories in the Companies, from twenty-five years of age up to forty, each contributing equally to the expense."

Read now the enacting part of my law.

ENACTMENT.

"Trierarchs shall be chosen for a trireme according to the valuation of their property, the rate being fixed at ten talents. Should properties be valued in excess of this sum, let the charge go up as high as three ships and a tender, according to assessment. In the same ratio let those whose properties are assessed below ten talents contribute together until that sum is reached."

Do I seem, then, Athenians, to have assisted the poorer classes in a slight degree, or would the rich have given a small amount of money to have escaped their just burthen? I have a right, therefore, to claim credit not only for not having yielded in this matter, and for having escaped the impeachment, but for having introduced a profitable law which was found by experience to suit the work in hand. During the whole war our naval expeditions were fitted out under this law of mine, and not only no

trierarch sought exemption from it of you as unjust, nor took refuge from it in Munychia, nor was imprisoned by the superintendents of marine, nor was any ship abandoned at sea to the City's loss, nor was any left in port from inability to get away, all of which things had often occurred under the old law. And the reason was that the tax pressed too heavily upon those who were unable to bear it, and impossibilities could not be achieved.

I transferred the trierarchies from the poor to the rich, and all that was wanted was at once found done. And not only do I deserve credit because I laid down a line of policy from which honor, and reputation, and power accrued to the City, but no single measure of mine was mean, or rigorous, or base, or hard, or unworthy of the State. This was my plain course not only in matters regarding the City, but in what affected Greece generally. In our own affairs I did not set the favor of the wealthy above the City's interests; nor in the affairs of Greece did I prefer Philip's gifts and his allurements to the common advantage of all the Greeks.

It remains for me to speak about the proclamation and my accounting, for I think it sufficiently clear, from what I have said, that I have always done the best for you, and that I have been throughout well disposed and zealous in your service. I shall, therefore, pass over my most important public acts, first, because it is proper that I should now speak upon the question of illegality; next, should I say nothing further about them, your own consciousness of them shall equally avail me.

As to most of Æschines' muddled statements about the criminal law, I think, by heavens, that neither you could understand what he said, nor I, I am sure, follow them at all. I will give you, however, a plain rule by which to try this question. I am so far from saying the contrary, as he has just been slanderously charging me with, that I now admit I shall hold myself accountable all my life for whatever I have taken in hand and managed

for you. But as to what I have given from my own private fortune to the people, I say,—do you hear Æschines,—I have never been accountable for a single day: nor would any one else be, were he even one of the nine archons. Where can be found the law so stuffed with harshness and injustice as first to rob of thanks the man, who in giving out of his private means, performs a beneficent and liberal act, and then turn him over to an account of what he has thus given? There cannot be. If he says there is, let him show it; I shall be satisfied and hold my peace. There never was such a law, Athenians; but this libeller says, because I was administering the Theoric fund at the time I so gave, “the Council has honored him while he was still accountable.” Oh Calumniator, it was not for anything for which I was accountable, but in regard to my free-will offerings! But again, he says, “you were a commissioner for repairing the walls.” And for this very thing I was rightly commended; for I gave what was expended upon them, without reckoning with the public. A reckoning requires the exhibition of accounts and their settlement; but a free gift merits thanks and commendation. And it was for this that Ctesiphon brought forward his decree; from an hundred instances I shall show that this has been so settled, not only by your laws, but by your equitable practice.

First, Nausicles, the general, was many times crowned by you for what he gave to the public out of his own property. So when Diotimus gave shields, and again Charidemus, they were both crowned.

So, also, Neoptolemus, here present, who was superintendent of many public works, was frequently honored for what he gave towards them. Hard, indeed, would it be were it not permitted to one exercising a public employment to give of his own means to the City towards the work in hand, or to be compelled to render an account of it instead of receiving thanks for his liberality. To prove the correctness of my assertions, take the decrees passed in regard to these citizens, and read them.

DECREE.

“In the archonship of Demonicus, of Phlyus, on the 26th day of Boedromion, by the advice of the Council and People, Callias, of Phrearii moved as follows: The Council and People think it proper that Nausicles, the general of arms, be crowned, because when two thousand Athenian heavy armed troops were in Imbros to assist the Athenian colonists in that island, and Philo charged with the supplies was prevented by stormy weather from sailing thither and paying them, Nausicles relieved them out of his own funds without making any reclamation upon the City: proclamation of the coronation to be made at the Dyonisiac festivals at the representation of the new tragedies.”

ANOTHER DECREE.

“The Senators speaking by the advice of the Council, Callias, of Phrearii, moved as follows: whereas, Charidemus, commander of the heavy armed troops when in Salamis, and Diotimus, commander of the cavalry, certain of our troops having been despoiled of their arms by the enemy in the engagement by the river, supplied the young soldiery out of their own private means with shields to the number of eight thousand, it is decreed by the Council and people that Charidemus and Diotimus shall be crowned with golden crowns, proclamation of the coronation to be made at the great Panathenaic festivals during the gymnastic games, and at the Dyonisiac festivals during the representation of the new tragedies: The junior archons, the Senators, and the Masters of the Games will take charge of the proclamation.”

Each of these citizens, while accountable in regard to the employments which he exercised, was not so as to the matters for which he was crowned. Nor I either.—For what was just and proper in their case is surely equally so in mine. I gave;—I was commended for this;—nor was I to be accountable for what I

had thus given.—I exercised a public charge;—I rendered my accounts of this;—not of what I gave. But by Jove, say you, I exercised my charge unfairly.—Why then, I ask, did you not, as you were present when the auditors passed my accounts, object to them?

But that you may see that he himself testifies for me that I was crowned for what I was not accountable for, look at the whole decree which was written in my behalf, and from what he has not attacked in the decree, his malignity will be evident in what he has attacked. Read it.

DECREE.

“In the archonship of Euthycles, on the 22d day of the month Pyanepsion, in the presidency of the tribe *Æneis*, Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes the Anaphlystian, moved as follows: Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, whilst he was superintendent of the repair of the walls, gave to the people three talents of his own money towards the prosecution of the work, and also whilst he was administrator of the Theoric fund gave to the sacred envoys for their sacrifices one hundred minæ, it is decreed by the Council and people of Athens that the said Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, be commended for the public spirit and good feeling ever manifested by him to the Athenian people, and that he be crowned with a golden crown, the coronation to be proclaimed in the theatre at the Dyonisiac festivals during the representation of the new tragedies. The Masters of the Games will see to the proclamation.”

It was not, then, for anything which I gave that you attacked the decree: it is for what the Council resolved should be done to me for what I gave that you arraigned it. The receiving of the gifts from me he therefore admits to be within the law;—it is the conferring of thanks for the gifts which he accuses as against

the law. Where, in the name of heaven, could there be found a more thoroughly depraved and wicked man the enemy of the Gods, if it be not he?

As to the proclamation in regard to the crowning in the theatre, I pass it by, as it has been done to thousands of persons thousands of times, I myself having been often crowned there. But you are so stupid and senseless, *Æschines*, that, by the Gods, you are not able to perceive that while the crown confers the same honor upon the recipient, let the coronation take place where it may, it is in favor of those who decree it that proclamation of it is ordered to be made in the theatre. For when the whole people hear this they are stimulated to do good service to the State, in their admiration of the kindness of those conferring the honor rather than of him upon whom it is conferred. Wherefore it was that the City long since enacted this law. Take it now and read it.

LAW.

“Whenever persons shall be crowned by the different demes, proclamation shall be made of the fact in each deme, unless the whole community or the Council shall decree the crown. In such cases the proclamation may be made in the theatre, at the *Dyonisiac Festivals*.”

Do you hear, *Æschines*, the law speaks clearly, “unless the whole community or the Council shall decree the crown, in such cases proclamation may be made in the theatre at the *Dyonisiac Festivals*.” Why, then, O miserable man, do you prevaricate? Why do you weave idle tales? Why do you not, after this, take a dose of hellebore? Is it not scandalous, that undertaking a prosecution out of hatred, and not for any illegality, you should pervert some laws, and take scraps from others which it was essential should be presented entire to those who are sworn to decide according to the laws? And you who are asking this are

speaking, forsooth, of what becomes a friend of the people; just as if, after having ordered a statue according to a given pattern, you take care that the contractor shall never be able to conform to his agreement: or as if the true friend of the people is to be ascertained by words only, and not by actions and public conduct. And you bawl out, as if from a cart, your filthy vituperations such as may suit you and your breeding, but in nowise fit for me to speak.

Men of Athens, there is this difference, I think, between defamation and a legal charge;—the charge refers to illegal acts to which the laws assign their proper punishment;—defamation is sustained by mere invective, with which enemies, according to their nature, bespatter each other. Your ancestors, indeed, built these Courts of justice, I assume, not that you might bring into them for punishment the abuse which men heap upon each other in private wrangles, but that we might punish in them illegal acts committed against the State. Æschines, knowing this full as well as I, has nevertheless chosen to vituperate, instead of to present an accusation. It is not right, therefore, that he should withdraw without getting the worst of it.—But I will come to this point again;—I now desire to ask him this question.

Should any one ask you, Æschines, whether you are the City's enemy or mine, you would doubtless answer, mine. Yet you failed to proceed against me according to law for these things, as a criminal, at the time of the audits of my accounts, during the prosecutions against me, and in other ways. But I was absolved absolutely by the laws, by lapse of time, by prescription, by being oftentimes tried, but never adjudged guilty;—you are therefore opposing me as to measures which there is a necessity of the City more or less sharing the credit of, since they concerned the public:—See, then, whether you are not the enemy of your countrymen, while you are pretending to be only mine.

Since then the proper and just mode of deciding has been pointed out to you all; it is right, it seems, although I am by nature unaccustomed to use abusive language, that in consequence of the slanders—many and false—spoken by him, I should mention a few absolutely necessary particulars about him, and show you who this fellow is, and what are his belongings, who undertakes thus recklessly to defame, who finds fault with my words, and who has been pouring out abuse that any moderate person would hesitate even to mention. If, indeed, my accuser were *Æacus*, *Rhadamanthus*, or *Minos*, instead of a babbling pettifogger of the lowest courts, a pestiferous scribe, I am sure he never would so have spoken, nor would he so load down his discourse—(bawling out as in a play)—with such phrases as “O earth, O sun, O virtue,” and the like. Nor would he appeal to conscience and education, by which good is distinguished from evil.—These things, I presume, you all heard him speaking of. Scum of the earth, what part have you or yours with virtue? Or what knowledge have you of what is honorable or its opposite? Whence could you get it? How could you esteem it? What justice is there in your talking about education, of which if one were truly possessed he would never talk about it himself, and would even blush should another speak of it before him? Those who are destitute of it, as you are, when they stupidly lay claim to it only cause disgust to their hearers when they so speak, in no otherwise succeeding.

I am not at a loss what to say about you and yours; I am only at a loss what to say first. Shall I tell how your father, *Tromes*, was the slave of *Elpias*, the schoolmaster, hard by the temple of *Theseus*, and how he wore heavy shackles on his feet and a yoke about his neck? Or how your mother made use of her morning nuptials in the stews with her hero, the *Calamite*, to rear up her fair statuesque son, the great third-rate actor? Or how *Phormio*, the galley flute-player, *Dion* the *Phrearian*’s slave, took her out

of this fine way of living? But, by the Gods, I pause, not lest I should say what is not befitting him, but lest I should seem to speak of things unbecoming myself. I shall, therefore, quit this subject, and start from the life which he has lived himself.

In all this there is nothing which the people has not execrated. Was it not lately,—lately, do I say,—in fact, only the other day,—he became an Athenian and an orator; and adding two syllables to his father's name, made Atrometus out of Tromes? His mother he called very splendidly Glaucothea, whom every one knew before as Empousa, because of her doing and submitting to everything, as her surname plainly showed. How otherwise could she have got it?

But how thankless, and of how depraved a nature you are.—When, by the favor of the Athenians, you are made a freeman and rich, from a slave and a pauper, you return no thanks for this, but hire yourself out to work against them.—As to anything which is in doubt whether he spoke in behalf of the City, I say nothing. I shall only bring to your recollection what he has been openly proved to have done for our enemies.

Who amongst you does not recollect the outlawed Antiphon, who entered the City under a commission from Philip to set fire to your shipyards? When I took him from his hiding place in Piræus, and brought him before the Assembly, this malignant fellow bawled out to you that I was committing an outrage in a free community, that I was insulting the unfortunate, that I was taking a man from his house without a warrant,—and he had him discharged. Had not the Council of the Areopagus, observing how from incaution you had fallen into error, taken hold of the matter, and sought him out and brought him before you again, the miscreant would have been rescued and escaped the hands of justice, spirited away by this solemn prater. But you put him to the torture, and dispatched him, as you should this Æschines.

When you subsequently, from the same inconsiderateness,

nominated him as your Advocate in the affair of the Temple at Delos,—an inconsiderateness with which you proceed in many matters of importance, making it too often the guiding principle in determining them, the Council of the Areopagus, taking cognizance of what he had done in the matter I have just referred to, at once set him aside as a traitor, substituting Hyperides in his place. And this they did taking their votes from the altar itself, not a single one being cast in favor of this wretch. And to show you I speak truly, call me now the witnesses.

WITNESSES.

“Upon the demand of Demosthenes, on behalf of all Kallias of Sunium, Zeno of Phlyus, Cleon of Phalerum, and Demonicus of Marathon, declare that considering the question of the people’s election of Æschines to be their advocate to the Amphyctions, in the matter of the Temple of Delos, they adjudged Hyperides to be more worthy to represent the City:—and Hyperides was sent.”

Thus, therefore, after he had been chosen, the Council removed him, and preferred another, asserting him to be a traitor and inimical to your interests. This, then, is one of this fine young man’s political acts, like what he has been charging me with, is not it? Let me call to your notice another one.

When Philip sent Python, the Byzantian, to us, and with him the ambassadors of all his allies, that he might bring discredit upon the City by denouncing her injustice, I yielded not to nor recoiled from Python’s insolence and his stream of abuse against you;—I withstood him to the face and answered him back. So far from abandoning the righteous cause of the City, I exposed Philip’s injustice, so that even his allies rose up and admitted it. This man, however, stood by assisting him, and bearing false testimony against his country.

This is not all. Again, sometime afterwards, he was detected going into Thraso's house, with Anaxinus the spy. Now, he who is found consulting in secret with an emissary of the enemy, is himself a spy in his heart, and an enemy of his country. Call me here the witnesses to establish the truth of my assertion.

WITNESSES.

"Keledemus, son of Cleon; Hyperides, son of Kallæschrus; Nicomachus, son of Diophantes, testify for Demosthenes as they swore in the presence of the generals, that they saw Æschines, son of Atrometus, the Cothocidian, entering the house of Thraso by night, and conferring with Anaxinus, who had been adjudged to be a spy of Philip's. This testimony was given before Nikias on the third of the month Hecatombeon."

I omit a thousand other facts of the same kind, and for this reason. I could point to many more cases from which this man, during the whole of this time, could be shown to have been assisting your enemies, whilst he was vilifying me. But these things are neither very accurately remembered by you, nor do they beget in you any resentment. By a certain vicious habit, you give ample license to any one who wishes to trip up and defame him who is counselling in your behalf, thus trading against the interests of the City the pleasure and satisfaction you derive from listening to attacks upon character. It is, therefore, always safer and easier to serve your enemies for pay against you, than to urge a line of policy by which your interests may be advanced.

If, however, before the war broke out it was scandalous for Æschines to act publicly with Philip against his country, —heavens and earth, why should it not have been! —Pass this by however. —But after our ships had been openly seized, the Chersonnesus ravaged, and Philip was himself advancing towards Attica, nothing being longer in doubt, and war flagrant, what, then, did this miserable spinner of iambs do in your behalf? You can

find no decree proposed by Æschines, great or small, for the advantage of the City. If he says there is, let him show it now,—I yield him my time for the purpose. But there is nothing of the kind. Of two things, therefore, one is clear; either he had nothing to propose better than what I advised; or, seeking the advantage of our enemies he did not advise upon the subject. But although he wrote no decrees, he was not at all silent whenever any mischief was to be worked against you:—then it was impossible for any one else to speak.

The City, it seemed, was able to bear up to this time what he had been secretly contriving against it. But what he now did, Men of Athens, put the finishing stroke to all his former misdeeds;—the matter about which he spent such a waste of words, passing in review the decrees of the Locrians, of Amphissa, when he was endeavoring to twist the truth. But this cannot be:—far from it. Never can you wash out what was then done by you. You shall speak your words in vain.

In your presence, men of Athens, I adjure the Gods and Goddesses who hold Attica under their fostering care; above all, the Pythian Apollo, your patron; and I pray them all, as I shall speak truth to you,—and I spoke it out instantly before the people when the matter was first broached by this miscreant—(I knew it, I knew it well on the instant)—as I speak truth, so may the Gods grant me their protection and my salvation! But if from private hatred or malice I falsely accuse this man, may they forever deprive me of all that is good!

Why do I thus speak, and why am I thus vehemently excited? It is because although I have the proofs lying in your archives, from which to establish my assertions; although you yourselves must clearly remember the facts, I fear lest you will never believe this man to have been wicked enough to perpetrate such a crime,—as happened before, when he brought about the ruin of the Phocians by making use of false testimony against them to

you. This, this is the man who first lighted up the war in Amphissa, which made Philip the leader of the Amphictyons, which brought him to Elatea, and which finally overturned the affairs of Greece; this is the man who contrived and plotted all,—the cause of all your ruin!

When I arose in the Assembly, and protested and cried out, "You are bringing the war into Attica, Æschines, an Amphictyonic war," those who were ranged on his side would not suffer me to speak; the others sat by astonished, and persuaded themselves that I was bringing an empty charge against him from private enmity. But, men of Athens, although you were then prevented, hear to-day what was the real origin of this business; in what way the whole thing was contrived; how it was finally completed. You shall see that the thing was well concocted; you shall be greatly assisted in understanding the history of the times; and you shall comprehend how great was the ability of Philip. A

There was neither end nor deliverance for Philip from the war with you, unless he could make the Thebans and Thessalians your enemies. For although your generals fought against him both unskilfully and unsuccessfully, still, from the war itself and from the cruisers at sea he suffered greatly. He could neither export from his own country what was raised in it, nor could he import into it what was necessary for him, as he was not only inferior to you by sea, but he was unable to penetrate Attica unless the Thessalians followed him and the Thebans gave him a free passage through their country. It thus happened to him, that altho' he overcame your generals—such as they were (I pass over this, however,) from the very nature of the situation and from your relative positions, he was at a great disadvantage. Should he, however, by reason of his own private quarrel, try to persuade the Thessalians or Thebans to march against you, he thought he could never induce them to do so; but if, by the pre-

text of a common cause, he could succeed in being chosen general, he readily hoped he might either cheat or persuade them to aid his views. What then should he put his hand to? You shall see how well he contrived.—He would create an Amphictyonic war, and introduce trouble into the Assembly at Thermopylæ, and then they would at once think him necessary to them. Should any of the presbyters, however, sent either by him or his allies, agitate the subject, he knew it would be looked upon with suspicion by the Thebans and Thessalians, and that every one would be thus put upon his guard. But if he could bring about that the presbyter should be an Athenian, sent by you his opponents, the matter would easily escape notice. And so it turned out.

How, then, should he work this? HE PURCHASED ÆSCHINES. No one, as I suppose, either foreseeing or suspecting the thing,—(you know how these matters are generally done by you,)—Æschines was nominated as deputy, and chosen by a show of three or four hands.

Clothed with this honor from the City, he came to the Amphictyonic Council, and disregarding everything else, hastened to accomplish the purpose for which he was hired. Putting together specious and false statements as to the origin of the dedication of the Kirrhæan plain, as he had to deal only with the presbyters who were simple and unsuspecting, he persuaded them to resolve upon a perambulation of the district which the Amphissians declared they were cultivating as their own, but which he pronounced to be within the sacred precincts. The Locrians had then no controversy with us, as he has falsely asserted here to day. You may know the truth from this. It was impossible, I suppose, for the Locrians to have had a controversy with us, without first sending us a citation. Who ever summoned you? In whose archonship was it done? Name him if he is known—show it. You cannot. This hollow artifice he made use of, and he lied.

Whilst the Amphictyons were perambulating the plain, in pursuance of Æschines' advice, the Locrians fell upon them and almost destroyed them all, even carrying off some of the presbyters. Accusations following, and hostilities being in consequence imminent, Kottyphus was at first appointed to lead an army composed of Amphictyons against the Amphissians. But as some of the troops did not come at all, and as those that came did nothing, the traitors among the Thessalians, and in the other cities, who were on the lookout, forthwith urged the choice of Philip as general at the approaching Council: and they made use of specious arguments. For they said, they must either raise a subsidy for the support of an army, of mercenaries and fine those who did not contribute, or select Philip. Why waste words about this? Philip was chosen general; and immediately drawing his forces together, and advancing as if against Kirrhæa, he bade good-bye forever to the Kirrhæans and Locrians, and forthwith took possession of Elatea.

If the Thebans upon witnessing this had not at once changed their minds, and taken sides with you, the whole thing would have burst upon our City like a mountain torrent. Now, indeed, for the moment they stopped him;—chiefly, men of Athens, through the kindness of some divinity to you, next, as much as lay in the power of one man, through me.

Give me the Decrees, and the dates in which everything took place, that you may see how one infamous head has brought about, unpunished, these great misfortunes. Read the Decrees.

DECREE.

“In the priesthood of Kleinagoras at the Spring Council, it was resolved by the deputies and councillors of the Amphictyons, as well as by the General Assembly, that whereas the Amphissians have entered upon the sacred district, sowing grain thereupon, and dividing it up for pasturage, the deputies and councillors

are directed to mark its boundaries by proper monuments, and to forbid the Amphissians from trespassing for the future."

ANOTHER DECREE.

"In the priesthood of Kleinagoras, at the Spring Sessions, it was resolved by the deputies and Councillors of the Amphictyons, and by the General Assembly, that whereas the Amphissians have entered upon the sacred plain, and have ploughed it and divided it up for pasturage, and when forbidden to proceed have assembled in arms and resisted the General Assembly of the Greeks with violence, and wounded some of their number, it is now ordered that Kottyphus, the Arcadian chosen as General of the Amphictyons, be dispatched to Philip of Macedon to request him to come to the aid of Apollo and the Amphictyons, and not to suffer the God to be insulted by the impious Amphissians; and that therefore the Greeks assembled in the Amphictyonic Council have elected him as their General with absolute powers."

Read me now the dates at which these things took place: they happened whilst Æschines was an Amphictyonic deputy. Read—

DATES.

"Mnestheides being Archon, on the 16th day of the month Anthesterion."

Give me now the letter which, as the Thebans did not respond to him, Philip sent to his allies in Peloponnesus. You may see clearly from it he was concealing the true aspect of the measures he was adopting against Greece and the Thebans and yourselves, whilst he was pretending that he was acting for the common interest under the orders of the Amphictyons. These pretexts and these shams this man furnished him with. Read—

PHILIP'S LETTER.

"Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Magistrates and Councillors of the Peloponnesian allies, and to the other allies,

Greeting. Whereas the Locrians called Ozolian dwelling in Amphissa, have profaned the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and with arms in their hands have violated the sacred plain, now, with your assistance, I desire to avenge the God, and to punish the men who have committed these sacrilegious acts. We ask you, therefore, to assemble with arms in Phocis, supplied with provisions for forty days, in the coming month of Loos, as we style it, called Boedromion by the Athenians, and Panemus by the Corinthians. Those who shall so assemble in mass with us we shall treat as friends, and those not joining us as enemies."

See how he avoids speaking of his private ends, and skulks behind Amphictyonic reasons. Who supplied him with these pretexts? Who prepared them for him? Who has been the head and front of all the evils which have thus been wrought? Is it not this man? Do not go about, Athenians, saying that Greece has suffered all her woes from ONE MAN. Heavens and Earth! It has not been from one man, but from many wretches found in every city: And Æschines is one of them; whom, were I bound to speak nothing but the literal truth, I should not hesitate to denounce as a common pest, the cause of all the destruction of men, places, and cities, that afterwards took place. The sower of the seed is the author of the crop of ruin which springs up. How you can look upon him without at once turning away, I wonder; but there is a veil, it seems to me, between you and the truth.

It has happened to me, in handling the various acts done by this man against his country, to touch upon matters which I myself proposed in opposition to him. For many reasons, Athenians, I desire you to hear me upon them; but chiefly because it would be disgraceful in you not to be willing to listen to the account of that which I spent so much labor in accomplishing.

Seeing then that the Thebans, and you too, influenced by those who were doing Philip's work—the corrupt men in each city—were overlooking, and not providing for what was dangerous and to be guarded against by you, namely, suffering Philip's strength to increase whilst you were hating and quarrelling with each other, I was ever on the lookout to prevent this being accomplished. Nor did I thus act from my own opinion alone; for I well knew that Aristophon and Eubulus, who differed greatly as to other matters, had ever desired to bring about this friendly feeling,—being always of one mind upon this point. Those men, vile wretch, whom you fawned upon when living, you are not now ashamed to attack when dead. For in inveighing against me about the Theban alliance, you bring a much graver accusation against them, since they advised the measure long before I did.

But I must go back now.—When Æschines had got up the Amphissian war, and whilst others, uniting with him here, were working up this enmity against Thebes, Philip was marching against you; this was the purpose for which these men had embroiled the two cities.

And if we had not bestirred ourselves a little we should not have been able to recover, so far forward had they brought the matter. In what position you stood to each other you shall learn from these decrees and answers.

Read now the decrees:

DECREE.

“In the archonship of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elaphebolion, in the presidency of the Erectheian deme, it was resolved, by the advice of the Council and Generals as follows: Whereas Philip has taken possession of certain cities of our neighbors, and is besieging others; but above all, is preparing to march against Attica, disregarding our treaties, and intending to break his oath and the peace, and to overturn our

common engagements, therefore it is resolved by the Council and the people to send ambassadors to Philip, who shall confer with him, and endeavor to persuade him, above all, to keep faithfully his agreements and treaties with us; or if not, at least to give sufficient time to the City to deliberate, and to grant an armistice until the month Thargelion. There have been chosen as deputies from the Council, Simus of Anagyrus, Enthydemus of Phlyus, Bulagoras of Alopece."

ANOTHER DECREE.

"In the archonship of Eropythus, on the last day of the month Munychion, it was resolved, by the advice of the Polemarch: Whereas Philip is endeavoring to bring the Thebans into hostilities with us, and is preparing to take possession, with all his forces, of the places bordering upon Attica, disregarding the existing treaties between us, it is resolved by the Council and people to send a herald and envoys unto him to endeavor to persuade him to grant an armistice, that the people may have an opportunity to consider the matter, for the people has not now determined to march out in the event of anything reasonable. Were chosen as envoys from the Council, Nearchus, son of Losinomus; Polycrates, son of Epiphron; and as herald from the people, Eunomus, the Anaphlystian."

Read now Philip's answers:

ANSWER TO THE ATHENIANS.

"Philip, King of Macedon, to the Council and people of Athens, Greeting.

"I am not ignorant of the design which you have had from the beginning, and which you vehemently desire to carry out, of gaining over the Thessalians and Thebans, as well as the Bœotians. They, however, have thought better of this matter, and do not desire to adopt your views, but to stand by their own interest.

You now turn round and send a herald and envoys to remind us of our treaties, and to ask for an armistice, although you have been in no wise wronged by us. I have listened, however, to your envoys, and acceding to your demand, am ready to grant the armistice, if you will dismiss your evil counsellors, and disgrace them as they deserve."

ANSWER TO THE THEBANS.

"Philip, King of Macedon, to the Council and people of Thebes, Greeting. I have received your letter, in which you renew concord and peace with me. But I understand that the Athenians are using efforts to induce you to join them in carrying out their plans. At first I blamed you for suffering yourselves to be persuaded by their promises to follow their advice. But knowing now that you earnestly seek to preserve peace with me rather than to follow the opinions of others, I rejoice and praise you on many accounts, but chiefly because in thus doing you have consulted your own safety, and preserve your kind feelings towards me. It will, I hope, be of no small importance to you if you abide in this purpose. Farewell."

Philip having by these means thus embroiled the Cities, puffed up by the decrees and his answers to them, advanced with his forces against Elatea and took possession of it, thinking that happen what might, you and the Thebans would never be united. Though you all know the alarm that this caused Athens, hear from me a few words about it, and those only the most necessary.

It was evening.—A messenger arrived to inform the Senators that Elatea was taken. Immediately rising from supper, some of them drove from their tents those who were engaged in traffic there, and set fire to the booths; whilst others sent for the generals, and called out the trumpeter: great was the excitement in the City. The next morning at daybreak, the Senators called the

Council together in their Chamber, and you all assembled in public meeting;—before the Council had advised or offered anything for consideration, every deme was seated in its place upon the hill side. When the Council arrived, and the Senators proclaimed the news, and introduced the messenger who spoke out his message, the herald demanded, “Who desires to address the meeting?” No one stood forth. After the herald had many times made the same demand, no one responded, although all the generals, all the orators were present, and their country by her common voice called upon each citizen to advise concerning her safety; for when the herald lifted up his voice, according to law, it is right to call it the common voice of our country. If it behooved all who desired the salvation of their country to come forward, all of you and the rest of the Athenians would have stood up, and mounted the platform; for all, I well know, desired her salvation. Had it concerned the rich in particular, the three hundred would have risen up. Had it concerned those who were both warmly attached to their country and also wealthy, they who immediately afterwards gave largely for the common interests, would have been there, for they gave from patriotism as well as wealth. But, as it appeared, the day and the occasion required not merely a rich and patriotic citizen, but one who had followed the subject from the very beginning, and could correctly understand why it was that Philip was thus acting, and what was his ulterior purpose. He, who was ignorant of this, or who had not followed it carefully for a long time, was totally unfit, notwithstanding his patriotism and his wealth, either to see what it was necessary to do, or to advise you how to do it.

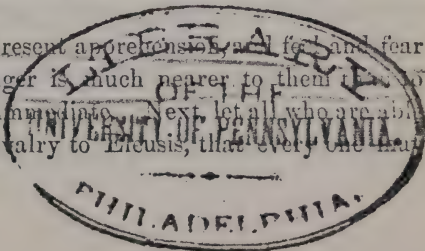
I was the man who appeared on that day, and who, ascending the platform, addressed you. What I then told you, you should now listen to attentively for two reasons: first, that you may know that I alone, of all the orators and counsellors, did not desert the patriot's post in that hour of danger, but both by speech

and written decrees advised what was most useful to you in your time of peril; next, because by spending a little time upon this you will much more readily comprehend all the rest of the policy of the day. I spoke as follows: "Those persons, I thought, who were greatly troubled at the Thebans being under Philip's control, ignored the real state of things, for I well knew that if this had been the case we should have not only heard of Philip being in Elatea, but on our very borders. I was clearly, however, of opinion that he was coming to Thebes to bring this about.—How the matter now stands," I said, "hear from me.

Philip has won over many of the Thebans by bribing some and deceiving others: those, however, who have withstood him from the first, and are now opposed to him, he will in nowise be able to gain. What, then, is his purpose, and why has he occupied Elatea? By making a great show of strength and displaying his arms he has raised up and inspired confidence in his adherents, and to the same extent depressed his enemies. He will thus compel these last either to join him through fear, which they do not wish to do, or they will be crushed out completely. If, therefore," said I, "we are now disposed to remember the old offences of the Thebans against us, and to distrust them as enemies, we shall be doing exactly what Philip wants; and I fear that even those of them who are now unfriendly will join him, and then all having Philippized with one consent, he and they will march together against Attica.

If you will listen to me, and look dispassionately at what I am going to propose, I think I can show what is best to be done, and remove the present danger from the City. What, then, do I propose?

First of all dispel your present apprehensions and fear for the Thebans. The danger is much nearer to them than to us, for to them the peril is immediate. Next, let all who are able march at once with the cavalry to Eleusis, that every one that



see you are in arms. Your partizans in Thebes will thus be enabled to speak out freely on the right side equally with their opponents, when they know that while there is a force at Elatea to back up the traitors who have sold their country to Philip, you are prepared to stand by them and assist them, should any one attack them, while they are desiring to contend for their country's freedom.

Further, I recommend that ten ambassadors be chosen, with equal power with the generals, to fix the time for going thither and for the march out. When the ambassadors shall reach Thebes, how do I propose the question shall be dealt with? Give me here your earnest attention. Endeavor to obtain nothing from the Thebans, (to attempt it at such a time would be base,) but say to them we have come to aid them, if they desire it, in their time of extreme peril, as we foresee better than they what is going to happen. Should they accept our offer, and hearken to us, we shall have obtained what we wish, and our conduct will wear a color worthy of the City; should we be unsuccessful, then they will have themselves to blame for having mismanaged their business, and we shall have done nothing mean or dishonorable."

Having thus spoken, and much more to the same effect, I descended and sat down. Every one concurred. Not a dissenting voice was heard. I not only spoke thus, but I wrote the decree; I not only wrote the decree, but I went on the embassy; I not only went on the embassy, but I persuaded the Thebans. I went through with everything from the beginning to the end, and gave myself up entirely to you, in the existing danger to the City. Bring me the decree which was then passed.

What name then, Æschines, do you wish me to affix to you and what to myself upon that day? Shall I call *myself* Batalus, as you have done, slandering and vilifying me; and *you* not merely a common hero, but one from the stage, Chresphontes, or Creon, or CEnomaus, whom you played once at Colyttus, and

broke down so abominably in? On that day I, Batalus the Pænian, seemed to be worth much more to our country than you, Cænomaus the Cothocidian. You, indeed, were not of the slightest use to her; while I did everything which became the good citizen.—Read the decree.

THE DECREE OF DEMOSTHENES.

“In the archonship of Nausicles, in the presidency of the Æantian deme, on the sixteenth day of the month Scirophorion, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæunia, moved as follows: *Whereas* Philip, King of Macedon, has been shown in the past to have violated the treaties of peace made between him and the Athenian people, and to have broken his oaths, and what is accounted just by all the Greeks, taking possession of cities not belonging to him, even capturing some belonging to the Athenians, by whose people he has been in nowise wronged: *and, whereas*, he is now proceeding largely by violence and cruelty, placing garrisons in some Greek cities and destroying their independence; overthrowing others, and reducing the inhabitants to slavery; in some of them even planting Barbarians in place of Greeks, and giving them possession of their temples and sepulchres; in all this acting in nowise different from his country and his own character in thus using in excess his present fortune, in utter oblivion of his having become great unexpectedly by accident from a humble beginning: *and, whereas*, the Athenian people, whilst it saw him taking cities of barbarians and their own, deemed it a matter of less importance that they were wronged by him; but now that it has witnessed Grecian cities, some insulted and others ravaged by Philip, it considers it a great outrage, and to be unworthy of its ancestral glory to look on and see the Greeks enslaved: *Therefore*, it is resolved by the Council and people of Athens, addressing themselves and sacrificing to the Gods and tutelary heroes, under whose protec-

tion the City and territory of the Athenians are, and laying to heart the virtue of their forefathers, who watched over the freedom of the Greeks with more solicitude than they did over their own country, that they will send a fleet of two hundred ships to sea, whose admiral shall sail up into the straits of Thermopylæ, and their general and commander of horse shall lead our infantry and cavalry to Eleusis; and also that ambassadors be sent to the other Grecian cities, and first to Thebes, as Philip is nearer to their country, to inform them to be in nowise in dread of him, and to hold fast to their own and the common liberties of Greece, assuring them that the Athenian people has dismissed from her recollection any old animosities between the two cities, and will now assist the Thebans with her power and her means, and with military engines and with arms, regarding it as honorable to contend with each other for the headship of their common country, but deeming it unworthy of their glory and the virtue of their ancestors to submit to the rule of a man of foreign race, and to abandon their leadership to him.

“Moreover, the Athenian people does in nowise regard the people of Thebes as alien in descent or race, and bears in mind the acts of kindness shown by their ancestors to the ancestors of the Thebans. For when the descendants of Hercules were kept out of their hereditary sovereignty by the Peleponnesians, Athens restored them to it, subduing with force of arms those who were endeavoring to resist the posterity of Hercules. We also received and succored Œdipus and his banished companions, and have rendered many other acts of kindness and goodwill to the Thebans.

“Wherefore the Athenian people will not now withhold its assistance from the Thebans and the other Greeks. Let an alliance then be entered into with them, with the right of intermarriage, and let oaths be mutually given and received: Ambassadors, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania; Hyperides,

son of Cleander of Sphettium; Mnesitheides, son of Antiphanes of Phrearii; Democrates, son of Sophilus of Phlyus; Kalæschrus, son of Diotimus of Cothocidæ."

This was the beginning and foundation of our connection with Thebes, the two Cities before this having been plunged by these men into hatred, distrust, and enmity. And this decree dispelled the danger which menaced the City like the morning mists. THEN was the moment for an honest politician to proclaim a better counsel than the one adopted;—and not *now* to rail at what had been done. For the statesman and the demagogue, differing in everything, are in this respect most unlike: the former states his views openly before the crisis, presenting them for criticism to his hearers, to fortune, to the season of action, to every one;—the latter, silent when he should speak, the moment misfortune happens, is loud-tongued in abuse of all that has been done. THEN, as I said before, was the time for the upright counsellor to speak, and for wise counsels. circled

But I will state this extreme proposition. If even now, any one can show anything better, in whole or in part, than what I then advised, I will confess that I was wrong. If any one can to-day show anything different, which if then done would have availed, I agree that I ought not to have kept it back. But if there is, and was no such thing, and no one can even now suggest it, what was the true counsellor to do? Was it not to choose the best thing that presented itself?—This I then did, Æschines, when the crier proclaimed, "Who present desires to give advice,"—not, "Who wishes to quarrel with the past,"—nor, "Who wishes to forecast the future." You then sat silent in the Assembly, whilst I came forward and spoke.—But although you spoke not at that time, do it now. Tell us what measures would then have been useful;—what favorable chance was then overlooked; what alliance, what conjuncture in which I should have placed my countrymen, was omitted?

The past is taken from us all,—no one undertakes to advise about it: it is the future, it is the present which requires the display of counsel. At that time there were dangers in the future, there were dangers actually pressing. Scrutinize the choice of means I then selected, but do not carp at the result. For the end is, as the master of all decrees; but the choice of a policy manifests its purpose. Do not, then, regard it as my wrong, because it chanced to Philip to succeed in the conflict:—the issues were in God's hands, not mine. Show me, however, that I did not select every means according to the best human calculation, working in this justly, and carefully, and laboriously even beyond my strength, or that I did not propose what was honorable and becoming and necessary to the City; show me this, and then find fault with me. If the impending blow was too powerful not only for us, but for all Greece to ward off, what is it right to do?—surely not to blame me! Is it not as if the merchant who has provided every proper equipment for his vessel, and has done everything for its safety, when it has encountered a storm, and the rigging and tackle are broken and shattered, should be condemned as the author of the shipwreck.—“I was not the master of the ship,” he might say.—“Nor was I the general, nor the master of fortune who herself controlled everything.”

Just look at the thing and reflect for a moment.—If, while fighting as allies of the Thebans, it befell us as it did, what was not to have been expected, if, instead of having them on our side, they had been with Philip, for which end he had used every persuasion? And if so great a fear and danger menaced and overcame us when the battle was fought three days' distance from Attica, what might not have been expected had the disaster occurred upon our very soil? Do you not see that we had time to stand, to meet together, to breathe? Much did one day, two days, three, enable us to do for the safety of the City. On the other hand—but it is wrong even to speak of what the City has

been spared through the beneficence of some deity, and by the protection of this very alliance which you have been assailing. \

All that I have been saying—perhaps too much—on this subject, is addressed to you, judges, and to the bystanders who are listening: to this abominable fellow a short and plain reply shall suffice. If the future, Æschines, was foreknown to you alone, by which the City might in this respect have been advantaged, you should then have spoken out. If you did not foresee any more than the rest, why should you rather accuse me as to the result than I you? I, indeed, was a better citizen so far as these matters are concerned (I refer now to nothing else)—inasmuch as I gave myself up to what seemed to be for the general good, neither shrinking from nor taking thought of any danger, whilst you neither proposed anything better—(or my measures would not have been adopted,) nor in anywise gave your aid towards what had been agreed upon. You were found to have acted, after the result, as the City's worst and most malignant enemies:—while Aristotratius at Naxos, and Aristolaus at Thasos, accuse the friends of the Athenians,—at Athens Demosthenes is denounced by Æschines. But he by whom the misfortunes of Greece are hoarded up to build a reputation upon is himself deserving of utter condemnation,—not to be the accuser of others: and he who profits, along with his country's enemies, by her misfortunes, can never be regarded as her well-wisher. You stand confest, then, from your life and conduct, from your speech, from your silence. Is anything to be advised for the benefit of Athens, Æschines sits dumb. Does an unforeseen reverse occur, Æschines is on his feet.—Just as when disease overtakes the body, old sores and sprains break out to worry it.

Since, however, Æschines insists so strongly upon the event, I desire to enounce a proposition which may at first seem paradoxical. Do not, in the name of Jupiter and all the Gods, be astounded at it because it seems extreme, but listen without pre-

judice to what I am about to say. Had the issue been already known to you all,—had all foreseen it, and had you, Æschines, bawled yourself hoarse in proclaiming it,—although you uttered not a whisper,—even then the City should not have hesitated to undertake what she did, having regard to her true glory, to our ancestors, to posterity. The result has indeed proved unfortunate, which is a common chance when the Gods so will it. But should we have been worthy of the headship of all Greece which we claimed, if descending from it we had incurred the reproach of delivering over the Greeks to Philip? Had we then resigned without a struggle that which our forefathers spared no dangers to achieve, who would not then have spat upon you, Æschines,—not upon me, not upon the City? With what eyes, good God, could we have looked upon strangers visiting the City, had the result been what it is and Philip had become the lord and master of us all, the rest of our countrymen, WITHOUT US, contesting his claim? Especially when in bygone days our City had shrunk from no danger in the cause of honor, rather than repose in an inglorious security. What Greek indeed, what Barbarian does not know that the Thebans, and the Lacedemonians before them all-powerful, and the Persian King himself, would thankfully and readily have permitted Athens to take what she wished and to keep her own, had she been willing to obey the behests of the stranger and suffer him to assume the command of Greece? But such things, as it seemed to the Athenians of those days, were neither patriotic, nor natural, nor supportable; nor could any one in all past time have prevailed upon the City to succumb to the powerful evil-doer, sitting down in safe submission. No, she ever encountered every peril, in the contention for the first place, and for honor and glory. And you, yourselves, regard these things as so august, and as so conformable to your own thoughts and feelings, that those of your ancestors who have so acted are held by you in the highest esteem. For instance;—who does not

admire the virtue of the men who preferred to quit their city and their country, embarking upon their ships, rather than endure servitude, and electing to their command Themistocles, who had so counselled them; nay, even stoning to death Kyrtilus, who had advised submission:—not only *him*, but your wives also putting his wife to death. Those Athenians sought not an orator or a general by whom they might be enslaved; they preferred not to live, unless they could live free. Each one of them believed that he was born, not only for his father and his mother, but for his country also.—And the difference is this.—He who thinks that he belongs to his parents only, waits for his appointed and natural end: but he who thinks he belongs to his country also, prefers to die rather than to see her enslaved, and fears more than death itself, the insults and dishonor which must be borne when his city is enthralled.

Were I to assert that it was I who had induced you to adopt resolves worthy of your ancestors, there is none who might not justly reprove me. I now proclaim that these resolves were your own, and that the same opinions were held by the City before my time. I only say that some of the credit from each of these things should be given to me. But this fellow, who finds fault with everything, and who is instigating you to condemn me as the author of all the City's alarms and calamities, is striving to deprive me, indeed, of this present honor, but is taking away from you your just eulogy for all time to come. For if you now convict Ctesiphon by condemning me as not having pursued the best policy, then will you appear to have failed, and not to have suffered what has happened from the injustice of Fortune. But you have not, you have not failed, Athenians, in encountering peril for the liberties and safety of your countrymen. I swear it by the spirits of your fathers, who went forth to face death at Marathon, by the men who stood in battle array at Plataea, by those who fought by sea at Salamis and Artemisium, by the

throng of worthies now reposing in the public sepulchres,—all gallant men,—all buried by the City as deserving of the same honor.—Yes, Æschines, all,—not the victorious and successful only,—all:—and justly. For all alike did the work of noble men, and all were subject to the influence of that fortune which the Divinity assigned to each. And you, accursed scribe, have been talking of the trophies and battles and great deeds of the olden time, wishing to rob me of the good opinion and honor of my countrymen. Which one of those deeds does this present controversy stand in need of? But, oh third rate actor, when the City's leadership of Greece was in question, what course of conduct did it become me to advise when I arose to speak? Was it to counsel something unworthy of these our citizens?—I had been justly put to death had I done so.—My fellow-citizens, you should in nowise deliberate in the same manner in a private controversy, and upon a public question. In matters of every-day life you must be governed by the particular facts and the laws applicable to them; in affairs of State you must judge in a spirit worthy of your ancestors. And when you are called to decide public questions, each one of you, along with his badge and staff of office, must take up the spirit of the City, if you deem it your duty to act worthily of your ancestors.

In speaking, however, of the exploits of your forefathers, I have passed over certain decrees and transactions which I now wish to advert to. I therefore return to the place whence I digressed.

When we reached Thebes we found there Philip's ambassadors, as well as those of the Thessalians and the other allies,—our friends dismayed, theirs jubilant. And to prove that I do not say this to aid my cause, read the letter which our envoys at once sent home.—This fellow, however, has reached this pitch of malignity, that whatever succeeds for us, he says, is the result of fortune, not from me; but if anything turns out amiss, I and my

ill-fortune are the cause. Thus it seems, I the counsellor and speaker, according to him, have no share in what is counselled or spoken; while of any disaster to our arms, any defect in generalship, I alone am to be treated as the author.—Where will you find a more brutal or viler calumniator?—But read the letter.

LETTER.

When the Assembly met they gave speech first to Philip's ambassadors, on account of their position as allies, and these harangued the people in high praise of Philip, and in abuse of you, rehearsing every hostile act ever done by you against the Thebans. And they summed up by saying that as the Thebans had always experienced kindness from him they should be favorable to Philip,—so, as they had ever been dealt with unjustly by you they should now take satisfaction, as they might prefer,—either by letting the allies loose upon you, or, by invading Attica themselves. And they described, as they thought, the result of their advice, in the number of slaves and cattle, and other good things which would be poured into Bœotia; whereas by acting upon our suggestions they would be despoiled in like manner, if the war should take place on Theban soil:—and much more in the same strain.

What we replied to all these things,—to all and each of them,—I would give my life to tell you; but I suppose as the times have now passed by, you would, in the belief that a deluge has swept away the whole matter, regard what was then said as an idle tale. But what we succeeded in obtaining, and what the Thebans replied to you, now hear. Take this letter and read it.

LETTER.

As the result, they sent for and called you to them; and you departed to their assistance. To pass over what occurred in the

interim,—they received you so warmly, that while their own troops were without the walls, yours were received into the citadel, into their houses, among their wives and children, and whatever they held most precious. And on that occasion the Thebans pronounced before the whole world the highest eulogium upon you, in thus testifying to your courage, your justice, and your temperance. For in electing to carry on the contest *with* you, instead of *against* you, they adjudged you to be both braver and juster in your demands than Philip: and in acting as they did in regard to what they and all mankind guard most jealously—their wives and children—they manifested their confidence in your virtue. And in all this, Athenians, they shewed they judged you rightly. For after your army entered their city, no one made even an unjust charge against you, so decorous was your conduct;—and twice taking part in the first engagements, the one at the river, and the one during the winter, you showed yourselves not only irreproachable, but admirable for your discipline, your preparation, and your spirit. Meanwhile praises poured in upon you from others, and from yourselves processions and sacrifices to the Gods. And I would here fain ask Æschines whether whilst this was taking place, and the City was overflowing with zeal, and joy, and commendations, he, too, sacrificed and shared in the general exultation; or whether he sat still at home grieving and sorrowing and disappointed at the public successes. If he appeared and took part with the rest, does he not now act strangely, or rather impiously, if, when he himself at that time called upon the Gods as witnesses to our success, he would now have you condemn all this as ill-done, after you had adjured the Gods in its behalf? If he did not then show himself, is he not now righteously deserving of many deaths, because while his fellow-citizens were filled with joy, he was looking with disapproval upon all that was being done? Read now these decrees.

DECREES.

Whilst we, therefore, were thus joyfully sacrificing, and the Thebans were convinced they had been saved by us, it was brought to pass that we, who, through the machinations of Æschines and his friends, had seemed to stand in need of assistance, were now able, by following my advice, to assist others. What cries Philip uttered, and in what straits he found himself in consequence, you shall hear from the letters which he sent into Peloponnesus. Read them now, that you may see whether my perseverance, and journeys, and efforts, and the numerous decrees which this man has been tearing to pieces, accomplished anything.

Athenians, you have had before my day many distinguished and great orators, the illustrious Kallistratus, Aristophon, Kephalus, Thrasybulus, and a thousand others; but none of them gave themselves up entirely to the State. He who drew the decree did not go on the embassy, and he who went as ambassador did not write the decree. Each one reserved some indulgence for himself, and in case of reverse some means of recovery. "What, then," shall it be asked, "do you surpass all others in strength and boldness, as if you alone were able to do everything?"—I do not say this:—but I felt the peril which was pressing upon the City to be so great that it seemed to me there was no room to give a thought to individual security, but I must be content to leave nothing undone which ought to be done for the public safety.—I was fully persuaded,—perhaps I was wrong,—but I was fully persuaded that no one could write decrees better than I, nor do what was to be done, nor act as ambassador with more zeal or more uprightness. For these reasons I placed myself in every position. Read now Philip's letters.

LETTERS.

To this condition did my policy reduce Philip, Æschines; this cry for assistance was he compelled to utter through my action,—

he who before this had been used to utter threatening speeches against the City. For this I was justly crowned by my fellow-citizens, you though present not objecting; and Diondas, who attacked the Decree, not obtaining even a fifth part of the votes. Read me here the decrees which were absolved by the law, and which this man did not attack.

DECREES.

These decrees, Athenians, first written by Aristonicus, recently by Ctesiphon, are in the self-same words and syllables: and these decrees this Æschines not only did not attack, but did not even join with him who did. But if he now assails me fairly, he might then much more fairly have arraigned Demonicles and Hyperides, who moved the decree. And why? Because Ctesiphon may well refer to the decisions of the Courts and to the fact of Æschines not attacking them then, although he is now attacking the very same decrees which Ctesiphon is moving, and to the laws barring further proceedings in such cases, and to much more of the like nature.

THEN the question would have been tried upon its own merits, before any such advantage had been obtained. THEN, methinks, it could not have been done as he is now doing, raking up from old times and decrees which no one before knew of, nor could have supposed would be referred to to-day for the purpose of slander,—perverting dates, and substituting false motives for the true ones, to give color to what is said. This could not have then been done. For the actual condition of things was then fresh, and you yourselves cognizant of what had taken place; and having, as it were, everything in your hands, these decrees would then have been perfectly understood. But this fellow avoiding proofs about these matters at the time, comes here at this late day, it seems, thinking you will make this a contest of orators, instead of an inquiry into measures,—a criticism of words, rather than of what was most profitable to the public.]

Then he sophisticates, and says, when you are here as judges you should discard the opinions which you had of us both at home. Just as when you enter upon a reckoning believing there is a surplus; if there is found an exact balance and nothing remains, you acquiesce in the result: so should you now proceed in the same way with the subject in hand. Only look how plainly rotten in its nature is everything which is not fairly done! For, from this sophist's own proposition, you must begin by assuming that I had been speaking on my country's side, and he on Philip's. He would not try to persuade you to the contrary, unless such was your first impression as to each of us.—That he is not acting fairly in asking you to change this opinion I shall show clearly—not by counters—(that is not the way to deal with public affairs,)—but by briefly calling to remembrance each prominent event, and using you who are listening, both as witnesses and reckoners.

My policy, which he condemns, instead of letting the Thebans come swooping down upon your country in concert with Philip, which all expected, fixed them on your side against him;—instead of bringing the war into Attica, kept it seven hundred stadia from your City, on the Theban frontier;—instead of cruisers from Eubœa harassing you, Attica was kept free from attack on the seaside during the whole war;—instead of Philip controlling the Hellespont by taking Byzantium, the Byzantines were on your side against him. Does this seem to be a result like the casting of counters? Is it right, or not, to cancel all these things; or to consider whether they shall not rather be kept in remembrance forever? I do not add, that when Philip became altogether master, it was manifest others had the experience of his harshness;—while of his benevolence adopted with ulterior views and displayed toward you, you fortunately reaped the fruits. I pass this over altogether.

Moreover I do not hesitate to say that he who would criticise an orator fairly, and not slander him, does not find fault with

such things as this man does, fabricating instances, mimicking my words and personal appearance! Do you not see how very important this is?—The policy of the Greeks is to depend upon whether I made use of this word instead of that, or whether I moved my hand in this direction rather than in that. Let him examine the very facts themselves. What resources, what credit had the City when I entered into public life; did I add to them whilst I was in power; and what was the condition of our adversaries? Then, if I had diminished her means the blame would have fallen on me upon your showing it:—if on the contrary—I had much increased them, you should not have calumniated me. Since you have avoided this course, I shall adopt it. And do you, judges, see that I present my argument fairly.

The resources of the City were confined at that time to some of the islands, and those the weakest; for neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra were with us. The amount of contributions reached but forty-five talents, and even that was anticipated. Of horsemen and foot there were none except the City troops. But the thing most to be dreaded was, that in addition to our enemies, these men had brought all our neighbors much nearer to a state of hostility than friendliness,—the Megareans, the Thebans, the Eubœans. Such then was our condition, and no one can say it was otherwise. Look on the other hand at the position of Philip with whom we were then contending. First of all he had the absolute control of his soldiery which in war is of the last importance. Next, his troops were always handling their arms;—he abounded in resources, and his hand was ready to execute what his head conceived;—he neither proclaimed his views in advance by decrees, nor was he bound to express them openly, nor was he in dread of hostile attacks, nor of prosecutions;—in fine he was responsible to no one:—he was king, lord, master. I who was opposed to him—(it is proper you should consider this too)—what was I the master of? Nothing.—Even the right to

speech I did not possess exclusively. This right you accorded equally to those who were in Philip's pay and to me. Whatever these men uttered against me—(and there was much of this kind as each one found a pretext)—was carried away by you, and you were thus really advising in your enemy's behalf.

Notwithstanding these great disadvantages, I confirmed the Eubœans, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Thebans, the Megareans, the Leucadians, and the Corcyræans, as your allies. They furnished us fifteen thousand men, and two thousand horse over and above the City's own forces : and I obtained from them as large a subsidy as I was able. Should you discuss, *Æschines*, the fairness of our conditions with the Thebans, the Byzantines, the Eubœans and others, and now find fault with them,—first, you are ignorant that of the triremes used in the former naval war by the Greeks,—three hundred in all,—Athens supplied two hundred. Nor did she think herself injured by this, nor prosecute those who advised it, nor show displeasure in regard to it,—(this would have been base,)—but she rather gave thanks to the Gods that in the common peril of Greece she was able to furnish twice as many ships as all the others, towards the common safety. Besides you are bestowing an empty favor upon your fellow-citizens in slandering me. Why do you now tell us what should have been done then, when although present, you did not state your views, if indeed they were practicable? In the existing juncture we were obliged to accept not what we desired, but the best that could then be obtained. There was a man ready to bid against us, eager to welcome all who might be driven from us, and prepared to lavish money to secure his ends.

But if I am now to be blamed for what was actually done, what would you not have heard, if, by reason of my bargaining too closely, the Allies had gone off from us and joined Philip, and he had remained master with Eubœa, Thebes, and Byzantium united to him?

What would not these faithless men have then done and said? Why, that when the allies wished to remain with us they had been surrendered and driven off;—that Philip commanded the Hellespont through the Byzantines, and could prevent the transport of food to Greece;—that the war had been brought directly and oppressively from Thebes to Attica;—that the sea had been closed by the privateers who issued out of Eubœa.—Would they not have said all this and much more of the same kind?

A wicked thing, Athenians, a wicked thing is the calumniator always, thoroughly censorious and slanderous. This fellow, dishonest by nature, is incapable of doing from the beginning anything straightforward and liberal: this tragic ape, this rustic Cœnomaus, this counterfeit orator! In what has his skill ever come to his country's aid?—Do you now babble to us about the past?—Just as if the Doctor, who had been attending a sick man, should give no advice, nor prescribe anything by which the disease might be cured, when the patient dies and his funeral is taking place, should follow him to the tomb, and there cry out, "If this man had only done thus and so he would have been alive to-day." Fool! are you now telling us all this?

You will find then that the disasters to the City which you, wretch that you are, are rejoicing over instead of lamenting, were in no wise brought about by me. You should look at it in this light. Never up to this time, when I was sent as ambassador by you, did I return worsted by the ambassadors of Philip; neither from Thessaly, nor Ambracia, nor from the Illyrians, nor the Tbracian kings, nor from Byzantium, nor from anywhere, nor last of all, recently from Thebes. But everything in which his ambassadors were overcome by me in argument, with arms in his hands he overthrew. Why then do you demand an account from me of these things, and why are you not ashamed to sneer at my cowardice, expecting me single-handed to overcome Philip's power, and this too by words? What was I master of? Neither

of the spirit of any one, nor of the fortune of war, nor of the leadership; yet you demand of me an account of all this,—oblique and indirect that you are? Of everything which the statesman should be answerable for, take the fullest account:—I ought not to be excused. What are these things?—To watch over the concoction of measures, to ascertain them even in advance, to proclaim their scope to the people. All this I did; and everywhere, the delays, doubts, ignorance, party-spirit,—inseparable defects in all our governments,—all these I reduced to a minimum, and even turned to harmony and union, and to an effort to do what was needed. Yes, all this I did, and no one ever found anything in this respect omitted by me.

Should any one ask, by what means then did Philip obtain his ends; would not all answer, by his army, by his largesses, by corrupting those in office? I neither controlled the City's forces, nor their general, nor had I the control of those who directed these things. But in truth I did overmaster Philip when I succumbed not to his offers. For as he who is offering a bribe overcomes the receiver in purchasing him, so the man who does not take the bribe and is not corrupted, triumphs over him who attempts to buy him.—In this respect the City never suffered damage by me.

This is what I furnished to justify the inscription of Ctesiphon's decree concerning me,—this and much more of the same kind; what you yourselves furnished I will now state. Immediately after the battle, the people knowing and seeing all that I had done, in the midst of their alarm and danger when it would not have been surprising had many of them felt unkindly towards me, took my advice before any other as to the public safety. All that was done in this direction, the ordering of its garrisons, the digging of the trenches, the contribution for the walls, was done under my decrees. Besides, I was elected the Commissioner for the supply of food over all competitors.

Immediately my enemies, banding together and plotting my ruin, stirred up against me prosecutions, citations to account, impeachments, and all that sort of thing, not at first through themselves, but principally through others, that they might not be recognized.—For you must surely recollect and know that at that time I was prosecuted almost every day; and neither the headlong stupidity of Sosicles, the slanders of Philocrates, the madness of Diondas and Melantus, nor any other expedient was left untried by them against me. In all these trials I was righteously acquitted; first through the favor of the Gods, next through your sense of justice and that of the other Athenians. I was declared to have been upright in everything, and this by the verdict of sworn juries having due regard to their oaths. In the impeachments you not only acquitted me, but you refused the fifth part of your votes to the prosecutors, so correct did you adjudge my conduct to have been. In the prosecutions I was shown both to have counselled and spoken strictly within the law. In the audits of my accounts you pronounced that my conduct had been in all respects pure and upright. If all this, then, was so, what title was it becoming or proper for Ctesiphon to affix to my conduct? Should it not have been what the people had itself declared?—What the sworn juries had pronounced?—What had been adjudged as the truth by every one?

But, says my accuser, what an honorable career was that of Kephalus,—he never underwent a prosecution at all. And a lucky thing it was for him, by Jupiter! But is he not as much to be commended who, though often prosecuted, has never yet been convicted, and in everything of which he was accused is shown to have acted uprightly? Nay more, Athenians; so far as this Æschines is concerned I can say what he said of Kephalus; for he himself never either impeached nor prosecuted me. So by you yourself, I am adjudged to be no whit an inferior citizen to Kephalus.

The illwill and malignity of Æschines, we can see on all sides, but nowhere is it more prominent than in what he says about fortune. My own opinion is, that the man who casts up to another his ill-fortune acts most absurdly. Since when he believes he is most successful and has his fortune most secure, he does not know that it will last until evening, how can he with any propriety plume himself upon it, or reproach another with his? But since he has spoken in this way upon many subjects, and is most arrogant in his contention about this, let us see, Athenians, whether I shall not express myself with more truth and humanity about fortune than he has done. I regard the fortune of the City as good, and I find that the Dodonean Jupiter has so declared to us; but the prevailing fortune of every one is at this time hard and terrible. What Greek, what Barbarian is not at present suffering most severely? I regard it especially as part of the City's good fortune that she chose the nobler part, and so choosing has prospered more than the very Greeks who thought that in betraying us, they would be more successful than we. To fail sometimes indeed, and not to have everything succeed as we had expected, is only a part of that common fatality which the City experienced when it fell upon us. My own private fortune or that of any of us is, in my opinion, to be compared only with the private fortune of others. This is my view of the subject, and is probably also yours; and it seems to me to be right and proper. But he who says that my private fortune should control that of this great Commonwealth, is comparing a little and insignificant thing with a great and mighty one. How can this be?

If, however, it pleases Æschines to criticize my fortune let him look to his own, and if he finds mine better than his let him cease carping at it. Look at it then from the very beginning. And let no one, in God's name, think there is anything heartless in my making this comparison! I think it most irrational for

any one to insult poverty, and because a man has been reared in prosperity to assert that he should on that account be honored. But in consequence of the vituperations and slanders of this foul-tongued fellow I am constrained to speak as I am about to do; I shall endeavor, however, to be as moderate as I properly can.

I happened, Æschines, when a child to be sent to proper schools, and to have sufficient means to prevent my resorting to anything base, or low. When I came to man's estate my conduct was conformable to my education. I became choregus, trireme-master, and was rated amongst the highest taxpayers. I shrank from no duty public or private by which I could be useful either to the City or my friends. When I afterwards devoted myself to public life, I performed political services for which I was oftentimes honored with a Crown, both by my own country and the other Greeks: and never could you my enemies assert that I put my hand to anything that I should not properly have undertaken. This is the fortune that has chanced to me; and although I might say much more about it, I pass it by, as I wish no one to take offence at my referring to matters which have been honorable to me.

Let us now consider your fortune, great man that you are who have spat upon every one else, and see what it has been. As a child you were brought up in penury, attending on the school along with your father, grinding the ink, sponging the seats, sweeping out the room, and such like menial tasks, not proper for a free-born youth. When you emerged from boyhood, you were employed in reading from the books of your mother the diviner, and the like; at night, wrapping the initiated in fawn skins, pouring water upon them, purifying them, rubbing them down with clay and bran, raising them after the purification, and teaching them to chant "*I have avoided the bad, I have found the good;*"—howling as no one else could,—for I think, don't you

Athenians, that a man who can harangue so loudly must certainly have been able to howl sonorously.—In the daytime you led strolling bands along the highways crowned with white poplar and fennel, pressing the jaws of serpents, lifting them over your head, bawling out *Evœ Saboi*, and dancing to the refrain of *Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes*.

You were also called by the beldames their chorus-leader, rhapsodist, basket-carrier, fan-bearer, and such like names, receiving pay from them in sops, cakes, and rolls. What man would not congratulate himself upon such a fortune?

You were next enrolled as a citizen,—how I know not, but you were enrolled,—and you immediately chose the noble employment of clerk and servant to some petty official. Removed from this place, in which you did everything you have condemned others for doing,—but not disgraced in it, by Jove, by reason of your past life, you hired yourself to those ranters who called themselves actors, *Simulus* and *Socrates*. You played third-rate parts with them, picking up the figs and grapes and olives which were thrown at you, and as if you had been a fruit-dealer from the rustic neighborhoods, you made more in this way than from your acting; since you got nothing but knocks from the spectators from whom you had often to run for your lives. For the war between you and the audience was implacable and relentless. Many hard knocks indeed you carried away with you, and hence you look upon others as cowards who have not had the like experience.

But as it might be urged your poverty was responsible for most of these things, I now turn to the defaults of your character itself. You played such a part in public affairs, that for what you did you led the life of a hare, in fear and trembling when your country prospered, and even expecting punishment for the crimes of which you knew yourself guilty:—when adversity overtook us, you strutted forth boldly in the sight of all. The

wretch that can take courage from the death of a thousand of his fellow citizens, what should he not justly suffer at the hands of the survivors? I must omit now much that I had intended to say about him, feeling that I should not mention inconsiderately all that is infamous and disgraceful, but only so much as is not disgraceful for me to speak of?

Let us, however, make a comparison of the circumstances of your life and mine, not rancorously, but with moderation; and then let us ask our fellow citizens whose fortune they would any of them prefer to have.

You taught in schools, I attended them; you assisted at sham initiations, I was initiated in the highest mysteries; you danced in choruses, I supplied them to the people; you were a petty scribe, I an orator; you acted third-rate parts, I was a spectator; you broke down in them, I hissed; you brought forward measures in favor of our enemies, I for my country:—I omit the rest. To-day I am on trial for a crown, but I shall not be condemned for any crime; while you are shown to be a libeller and a calumniator, and are even in danger whether you shall continue this trade, or be driven from it by not receiving the fifth part of the votes. A lucky fortune indeed—(don't you see)—you have stumbled on, —and yet you find fault with mine as bad!

Here now I will read to you the evidence of the services I have rendered to the public, and do you at the same time recite the verses which you once murdered:

“From the drear tombs, and darkness' gates I come.”

and

“Ill to proclaim I wish not here to do.—”

May the Gods bring ill to you, and may your fellow citizens confound you, wicked citizen and wretched declaimer that you are! Read the evidence.

EVIDENCE.

Such have I been in matters in which the State was concerned. As to my private life, if you do not all know I have ever been kind and liberal, compassionate to the unfortunate, I shall be silent;—I shall neither speak nor offer testimony as to whether I have ransomed citizens from captivity, or supplied marriage portions to their daughters, or the like. This is my view of such things. I am of opinion that while the party obliged should never forget the obligation, he who confers it should never mention it, if the one desires to discharge the part of an upright person, and the other of a man of honor. To bring to remembrance and to proclaim one's acts of beneficence differs little from reproaching the recipient. I shall not do this, nor can I be forced to it. However I may be thought of in this respect, I am well content.

Having now passed altogether from private matters, I wish to say a few words more about public.

If you can now show, *Æschines*, that a human being under the sun, Greek or barbarian, has not suffered wrong, first from the rule of Philip, afterwards from that of Alexander, I will give up to you my fortune—or my ill-fortune, if you choose to call it so—as the cause of all. If, on the other hand, people who have never looked upon me or heard me speak, have been all grievously injured,—not merely individuals—but whole communities and nations, how much more fairly and truly does it seem, that to the common lot of humanity,—some cruel course of events like nothing ever seen,—should be attributed the happening of these disasters. Disregarding this, however, you condemn me and my policy, when it is apparent that the whole blame, or at least a heavy part of it, should fall upon all, and upon you in particular. Let it be granted that I obtained the sole control of affairs, was it not open to all of you to attack me? And if you,

were always present in our assemblies, and the City looked to the bringing forward of what was best for her interests, and then my counsels appeared best to all, and to none more than you—for from no kindness to me did you surrender your hopes, the public esteem, and your honors to my propositions—thus showing you were vanquished by the truth, and had nothing better to offer,—what a monstrous wrong and injustice are you not now committing in condemning measures than which you could then propose nothing more useful.

See how this question is settled by the opinion of the whole world. Does a man purposely do wrong, he is the object of anger and punishment. Does he simply err unwittingly, pardon and not punishment is extended to him. And he who undertakes to advise for the public good, is neither looked upon as dishonest nor in default if, in common with every one else, he has not succeeded. It is unjust either to punish or blame him,—he is the object of sympathy. This is clear not only from the written law, but from the unwritten law of nature and man's moral constitution. But Æschines so far exceeds every one in cruelty and malignity that the very things which he once looked upon as misfortunes, to me he now imputes as crimes.

Then with a seeming air of candor and kindness, he has asked you to watch and keep your eyes upon me, lest I might deceive and beguile you; calling me a wonderful speaker, a trickster, a sophist, and the like; and in this way by first attributing to another his own bad qualities, he prevents his hearers from inquiring into the character of him who brings the charge. But I am sure you all see through this fellow, and are convinced that these vices are a part of his own nature, and not of mine. For I know full well that my skill in oratory,—(I suppose I have some skill in speaking, although I am convinced it is the hearers who are usually the masters of the speaker's power, for according as you regard and show kindness to him, does he take courage,

and do his spirits seem to rise,—) if then I possess this faculty, you have always found it exerted for your advantage in public affairs, never against you, or for my private ends. Æschines, on the other hand, has either been always speaking in behalf of your enemies, or against those he thought had injured or offended him. Never has he employed his talents in the cause of justice, or for the State's advantage. An upright citizen should never ask the judges assembled in the public interest to consider and pass upon his private griefs and animosities; nor should he even approach them on such subjects: least of all should he have such feelings in his heart,—or if he cannot help this, they should be held in moderation, and under control.

On what occasions then should the statesman and the orator be vehement?—When some vital interest of his country is in danger, or in matters urged against the public enemy.—In such cases, properly:—for they much concern the zealous and the honest citizen. But when of no *public* wrong, and I aver of no *private* one he ever justly accused me,—neither against the City nor himself,—to be raking up accusations as to whether I should be crowned and honored, and to be expending this flood of words,—*this* is indeed an exhibition of private hatred and malice, the mark of a mean spirit, not of an honorable man.—And if he declines a direct encounter with me, attacking me through another, *this* is the very depth of baseness.

You seem to me thus, Æschines, from your conduct, to have undertaken this accusation to make a display of your fine voice, not for the punishment of any act of crime. But it is not the language of the orator, or the tone of his voice which are held in value, but the choice of what is acceptable to one's fellow-citizens, the hating and loving as our Country does. The orator with these feelings will say everything with honest warmth. He who cherishes those from whom the City apprehends danger, does not ride upon the same anchor with his fellow-citizens, for he can

never have the same expectation of safety with them.—But do you see? I have; for I have always adopted a course conformable with my country's interests, nor had I ever anything separate and apart from her.—Is that so with you?—How can it be?—Immediately after the battle, you went as Ambassador to Philip the cause of all our City's woes, and yet as all men know you had formerly refused this office. Who then has deceived the City? Is it not he who does not say what he thinks? Whom does the herald justly denounce at the opening of our assemblies? Is it not such a man as this? What heavier accusation can be brought against a public man than that his tongue does not utter the thoughts which are in his heart? You have been proved to be such a man.

And yet you lift up your voice loudly here, and dare to look upon the faces of your fellow-citizens! As if they do not know who you are! As if they all are in such a state of stupor and oblivion, as not to remember the words which you publicly pronounced when you asserted and asseverated there was no connection between you and Philip, and that I had, contrary to the truth, so charged against you an account of private enmity! Scarcely had the news of the battle been proclaimed, when, forgetting all this, you instantly confessed and laid claim to a friendship and intimacy with Philip, by those names covering up the hire and salary you had taken from him. With what propriety, Æschines, can you assert that Philip was ever host, friend, or intimate of the son of Glaucos, the timbrel player! I shall never believe it. You were bribed to bring to nought everything which might have availed your country, and yet standing confest a traitor, and a self-convicted libeller, you attack and charge me forsooth with crimes of which you well know anyone is rather guilty than I.

Many and great things, Æschines, has the City undertaken and succeeded in through me, and of this she has never been un-

mindful. Here is a proof. When the citizens, immediately after the fatal event, were about to choose an orator to pronounce the oration over those who had fallen, they neither selected you although put forward on account of your fine voice, nor Demades although he had just negotiated the peace, nor Hegemon, nor any of you, but ME. And notwithstanding you and Pythocles came forward, and oh Jupiter and all the Gods, savagely and ruthlessly attacked me, accusing me of the same things you have urged against me to-day, they all the more selected me. You are not ignorant of the reason, but all the same I will tell you. The people had witnessed the devotion and good-will with which I administered their affairs, and at the same time your misconduct and dishonesty. What you had openly disavowed with protestations when our affairs were prosperous, in the City's adversity you openly professed. Those, therefore, who found safety for their opinions in the public distress the people looked upon as their enemies from the first who would surely show themselves so when occasion offered. Moreover they thought it unbecoming that he who was to pronounce the funeral oration, and was to celebrate the valor of the men who had fallen, should have lived under the same roof and drunk of the same cup with those who had been arrayed against them:—that those who had rejoiced and sung pæans over yonder upon the misfortunes of Greece with the authors of her ruin, should not come forward here to be honored;—that the orator should not feign to weep over their fate with his voice only, but should grieve from his heart. This they felt was the case with *themselves*, with *me*, but not with *you*. Such were the reasons why I was chosen, and not you. And not only did the people thus act, but the fathers and brothers of the slain selected by the people to discharge the funeral rites, did the same thing in another way. For when it became necessary that the funeral banquet should be provided, it was given not at the house of any kinsman of the deceased as is usually done, but

at mine. And properly. For while each of them was nearer to each of his fallen kinsmen than I, none was nearer to them all than I, in the common grief. He who had the greatest interest in their success and preservation, he indeed had the greatest share of grief in what all felt for their undeserved fate.

Read him the epitaph which the City ordered to be inscribed at the public expense, that you may see in it, Æschines, what a malevolent foulmouthed rogue you are. Read it, I say.

EPITAPH.

“Here lie who fought their country’s rights t’ uphold,
And strove to quell the foes’ proud insolence.
Valor and spirit nought availed, they fell,
And to the common Judge, grim Pluto, passed.
From slavery’s hated yoke the Grecian neck
To guard, they gave their lives. Their mother Earth
Her children’s precious bodies loving holds;
Since the decree from Jove is sent, to whom
Alone belongs in all things to succeed,
Never to fail. Man cannot fly from Fate.”

Do you hear, Æschines, in this very epitaph it is said, to the Gods alone belong success, and not to fail. Not to the counselor is it given to cause the combatants to succeed, but to the Gods alone. Why, then, wicked wretch, do you blame me for this ill-success, and charge me with disasters which may the Gods let fall upon the heads of you and yours!

Whilst this man was falsely charging me with many crimes, Athenians, I was particularly struck with this;—that while he was passing in review the calamities with which the City had from time to time been afflicted, he never showed the disposition of a loyal or friendly citizen,—he neither shed tears nor in any way expressed sympathy with his country’s distresses. But raising his voice, and loudly haranguing with an air of satisfaction,

when he thought to condemn me altogether, he bore testimony against himself, inasmuch as he did not exhibit in our misfortunes the same feelings as the rest of us. It seems to me that when a man is pretending to discuss our laws and frame of government, as he has been doing, he should at least be able, if nothing else, to grieve and rejoice over the same things with his fellow-citizens, and not to range himself by his politics in the class of their opponents. Æschines has just declared that I was the cause of everything, and that through me all the State's recent disasters were brought about; but it was never through my advice, or by my prompting, that you, my fellow-citizens, first began to assist the other Greeks. If, indeed, you should give me the credit that it was through me you had been first brought to oppose the power arrayed against the Greeks, it would truly be a greater honor than you have ever yet conferred upon any one. But I do not say this (I should be unjust to you if I did,) and I well know you would never make such a concession; and my antagonist, had he acted honestly, would never from hostility to me have thus tarnished and defaced one of your most glorious achievements.

But why do I call him to account for this, when he has wickedly charged me with a much more infamous crime? He has charged me, Heavens and Earth, what will he not say next, with Philipizing! By Hercules and all the Gods, if we consider this matter accurately, inquiring fairly and without hatred who the persons are who in very truth may be described as the cause of these disasters, it will be found they are persons in each Grecian State, like Æschines, and not any who thought as I did.—Persons who, when Philip's power was feeble and at a low ebb, and whilst we were counselling and advising, and preparing the best measures, abandoned from a sordid greed for money what was best for the public good, and deceived and corrupted their respective countrymen until they had enslaved them.—Such men were Daochus,

Cineas, Thrasylaus, with the Thessalians; Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucampidas, with the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teledamus, Mnaseas, with the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus, with the Eleans; Neon and Thrasylochus, sons of the accursed Philiades, with the Messenians; Aristratus, Epichares, with the Sycionians; Dirarchus, Demeratus, with the Corinthians; Ptæodorus, Helixus, Perilaus, with the Megareans; Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemœtas, with the Thebans; Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosistratus, with the Eubœans:—the day would fail me to enumerate even the names of these traitors. Those, Athenians, those were men, all like-minded in their own country with these wretches in ours, vile flatterers, accursed parasites who have maimed and mutilated their respective States, pledging away their liberties first to Philip, afterwards to Alexander; who placed their happiness in their bellies, and the gratification of the lowest sensuality, and who have brought to ruin that freedom and that spirit which refused to own a master, and which to the Greeks of old were the boundaries and canons of everything that was good.

Of this base and infamous arrangement, or to speak in earnest, Athenians, of this betrayal of the liberties of Greece, Athens through my counsels is guiltless in the eyes of men, and I in yours. If you ask then again, Æschines, for what services I deem myself worthy of honor from my country, I answer that when all the public men of Greece were being corrupted, beginning with yourself, first by Philip, afterwards by Alexander, neither opportunity, nor fair words, nor mighty promises, nor hopes, nor fears, nor anything inclined or moved me to yield a jot of what I thought just and useful to my country. What I advised the State to do, I did not, like you and your fellows, advise, throwing self-interest, as in a balance, into the scales to depress them; but I did everything fairly, honestly, and with a heart that was incorruptible. And dealing with larger affairs than any man of my time, I managed all with purity, uprightness, and discretion.—Therefore do I claim to be honored.

As to the walls which you sneer at, and the intrenchments, I consider them also deserving of praise and gratitude;—why are they not?—I place them, however, nowhere near my acts of administration. I did not merely surround the City with walls of stone and bricks,—I do not take credit to myself chiefly on this account. If you will look fairly at the fortifications which I erected you will find them in the arms, and cities, and strong places, and harbors, and ships, and horsemen, which in this way I secured to Athens. These were the things with which I provided Attica, doing everything which human counsel could perform: in this way I walled the whole country round about, not merely the circuit of the Piræus, or of the citadel. By Philip's calculations and preparations never was I defeated,—far from it;—the generals and forces of the allies were vanquished by Fate. Do you ask for the proofs? They are plain and clear as the day.—Look at them.

PROOFS.

What should the prudent statesman have done who was providing with the utmost care and zeal and solicitude for the interests of Athens? Should it not have been to defend Attica on the seaside by Eubœa, in the middle by Bœotia, and on the side of Peloponnesus by the contiguous States?—To provide for the transport of corn until passing along a friendly coast it should reach Piræus itself? To preserve the places which belonged to us by sending advice and assistance for their succor,—Proconnesus, Chersonnesus, and Tenedos;—and draw into friendship and alliance Byzantium, Abydos, and Eubœa?—To weaken and cut off the supplies of the enemy, and to procure what the City most stood in need of?—All these things were done by my advice and through my decrees; and all, Athenians, if not looked at in an envious spirit, will be found to have been well done,—with the utmost rectitude,—the favorable opportunity never lost, nor

omitted, nor cast away ; and so far as lay within the power and faculties of a single man, nothing left undone. But if either the enmity of some deity, or the power of fortune, or the want of skill in our generals, or the treachery of those who betrayed your cities, or all these things together, made havoc with your affairs until they were entirely ruined, why should Demosthenes be blamed?

Had there been in each Grecian City a man such as I was with you ; or had there been but a single man in Thessaly and another in Arcadia like-minded as myself, no one either outside the Gates of Greece, or within them, would have suffered the present distresses. But all of us, independent and self-governing, would have been dwelling in our respective countries, in happiness, security, and freedom from alarm, giving thanks to you and the other Athenians, through me, for these benefits. And that you may see how much these advantages outweigh my words, in a desire to avoid envy I ask you to read this list of aids to our country which were obtained by my decrees.

ENUMERATION OF AIDS.

Such things, Æschines, it becomes the patriotic and good citizen to do, and by succeeding in them, heavens and earth, we should have been undoubtedly the greatest of people, and deservedly ;—even in failure, our conduct has been glorious, none can blame the City, or its policy, but Fortune alone which had so ordered ;—but never will he abstain from assisting his country, nor sell himself to her enemies, nor serve their interests against her. Nor upon him who is urging and preparing measures in favor of his country and striving to stand fast by them will he look with hatred ; nor if any one has privately offended him, will he treasure it up and nurse it. Nor will he maintain an unjust and treacherous retirement, as you have often done :—for there is a proper retirement, profitable to the City, which many of you have fairly

maintained. But such has not been his withdrawal from public life—far from it;—retiring whenever he pleased, and that was often enough,—he watched the opportunity when you were wearied with listening to the same adviser, or when some stroke of ill-fortune had befallen you, or something adverse had occurred,—so often the case in human affairs,—then seizing the occasion he started up from his seclusion, and showed himself like a tempest. And with cadenced tones he rolled out words and sentences, stringing them together without stopping for breath, although they brought with them no advantage nor offer of relief to the State,—but only ruin to some of our citizens, and disgrace to all. Yet of such care and attention, *Æschines*, if inspired by an honest heart and a desire to serve the State, the fruits should be valuable, and serviceable and honorable, such as alliances with other cities, the supply of means, the opening of commercial markets, the enactment of useful laws, the hindrance of our known enemies. Such in past times was what was expected, and the past gave many opportunities of proving this to the honorable and upright man. On those occasions you were neither first, nor second, nor third, nor fourth, nor fifth, nor sixth, nor in any place at all; never, certainly on any occasion by which your country was benefited.

What alliances did the City ever procure through you? What aid, what increase of glory or esteem? What embassy, what service by which the City was placed in a better position? What matter which you controlled, either at home or with the other Greeks, or with foreigners, was ever brought to a successful conclusion by your agency? What ships, what military engines, what docks, what construction of walls, what horsemen, in what of any of these things have you ever been serviceable? What assistance, from public spirit or liberality, was ever rendered by you to rich or poor? None. If nothing of this kind, when did you ever show kindness or affection? Where, when? Most

heartless of men, while every one who has ever spoken from this place has contributed to the relief of his fellow citizens,—Aristonicus giving away recently the very money which had been set apart to restore him to his civic privileges,—you have never given or contributed aught. You were not without means, how could you be? You inherited from Philo, your father-in-law, more than five talents, not to speak of the two talents you got from the heads of the symmories for mutilating to their relief the law concerning the trierachs. But that I may not, passing from one thing to another, elude the present question, I leave these matters. It is clear you were not prevented from giving by want of means; but because you took good care never to act in any way against those friends of yours to whom you were subservient in everything. In what, then, are you bold and zealous, and when are you conspicuous? When it is necessary to speak against your fellow-citizens:—then your voice is loud and clear, and your memory perfect, oh, best of actors, tragic Theocrines!

You have reminded us, Æschines, of the mighty men of old, and it is well:—but it is not just, Athenians, that my opponent should take the gratitude you now feel towards those patriots, and use it against me by a contrast of the living with the dead. For who does not know that an overmastering and belittling envy is always at work against the living, while the dead cease to be hated even by their enemies? If such be human nature, shall I be judged and compared with those who have gone before me? By no means; this is neither fair nor just. Compare me with yourself, Æschines, or with whom you please of those who think as you do who are now living.

Moreover, citizens, consider this. Is it better and more profitable to the State, on account of the enormous and immeasurably great services of our ancestors, to treat the well-meant efforts of contemporary actors with thanklessness and derision, or to award the meed of praise to all who strive to do well in its behalf? But

can I not say that my advice and my policy when rightly looked at is of like character, and essentially the same as that of those illustrious men; and that yours is of a piece with that of their calumniators? It is clear that in their time too there were those who maligned the living, and who besmeared the men of the past with praise,—a base act, and what you are now doing.

You assert then that I am totally unlike those men. But are you like them, Æschines, or your brother? Or any of your orators? I say not one.

Compare me, honest declaimer, (for I shall call you nothing else,) with the living, compare the living with his competitors as in other cases,—as with poets, with musicians, with wrestlers. Philammon, although he was not so strong as Glaucus the Caristian and other athletes who had gone before him, never returned uncrowned from the Olympian Games; for since he excelled all with whom he contended, he went forth crowned and triumphant. Match me then with the Statesmen of to-day, with yourself, with any one you please.—I except none.

When the Commonwealth was able to choose the best course, and when to strive for its advantage in public affairs was a matter of emulation with all, I counselled most wisely, and by my decrees and my laws and my embassies everything was directed; and you, none of you, were to be found anywhere, unless it was necessary to do the State a mischief. When adversity came, and there was no longer a searching out for counsellors, but for men who were working for those behind them, who were ready to prostitute themselves for pay against their country, and to flatter the stranger, then you and your fellows came forth radiant, and great, and splendid,—and I, I admit it, was very low, but still your friend,—while these men were not.

Two qualities, Athenians, an upright politician should possess,—and I may so call myself without being invidious,—when in power, he should advocate a policy both honorable and lofty:

and at all times, and in all contingencies, he should be loyal to his country. This last quality is native to the heart,—power and strength depend upon other things: and this last you have always found abiding in me. Although my person was demanded by the stranger, although cited before the Amphictyonic Council, although harassed by many prosecutions, although hounded by these miscreants who pursued me like wild beasts, never have I faltered in my allegiance to you. From the beginning I chose unconditionally the straight and upright course in politics,—to uphold the honor, the power, the glory of my country, to increase them if I could, to live and have my being in them. When the stranger was successful, then did not I stalk about our public places with beaming face, rejoicing, stretching out the right hand to those who I hoped would report it OVER YONDER. Neither did I with a shudder hear of any success to the City, walking with downcast eyes and sorrowful face, like these accursed men who speak ill of and belittle Athens (as if, in so doing, they did not speak ill of and belittle themselves)—who look outside of their country, exulting in the success of the STRANGER, and the misfortunes of Greece, and asserting that we should take care he shall always be successful.

Let not, O ye Gods, let none of these things be approved by you! Rather inspire these men with a better mind and counsels! But if they be incorrigible, destroy and utterly confound them, whether they be on sea or land;—and to us grant the shortest period to the woes which have been fastened upon us, and provide for us an enduring salvation!

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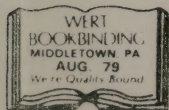
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